

THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT IN KANSAS

by

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It takes three log houses to make
a city in Kansas, but they begin calling
it a city as soon as they have staked
out the lots.

Horace Greeley

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INTRODUCTION

To learn the nature of an existing town or city, it is necessary to know why it began, how it grew, and why it prospered or failed to prosper. There are reasons why towns and cities are located where they are. They are important in the history of the city and they bear upon its future. They are important as a pattern for the continuous development of the city as they reveal what changes have overtaken the city and thus help indicate new directions for which the city must be planned. The reasons for existence which caused the founding of a city may have multiplied, or they may have vanished. There may, today, be entirely new purposes for the city than those which moved its original settlement.

The metropolis of today has apparently little in common with its predecessor, the sleepy village or wild cowtown of mid-nineteenth century Kansas. However, there remain reminiscent marks of its historical origin, even though the functions may have altered completely. As a city grows in size, as the population increases, as new enterprises develop, the character of the city alters.

It was for these reasons that this paper was written -- so that a better understanding of the character of Kansas towns and cities could be obtained. By revealing their original conceptions and tracing their development through the early phases of youth and on to relative maturity, a picture develops which shows more clearly the destiny of each.

It is appropriate that this study should be completed one hundred years after the entry of Kansas into the Union. The clouds of bigotry and hypocrisy

which shaded early literature on the evolution of Kansas have long since disappeared, and a truer image can emerge from the chaos which engulfed the state over a century ago.

CHAPTER I

INDIANS, FORTS, MISSIONS, AND TRAILS:
THE EFFECT ON PRE-TERRITORIAL FACTORS
ON URBAN SETTLEMENT IN KANSAS

The search for the Seven Cities of Cibola brought the first white men to the area that is now Kansas. Stories of their untold riches led the Governor of Mexico to commission Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to find these cities of great wealth -- especially Quivira, the richest one of all. Legend stated that its streets were paved with gold, and that precious stones were imbedded in the doors of its houses.¹

In 1541, Coronado and his expeditionary force of 300 Spaniards left Tiquex (near the present site of Albuquerque, New Mexico) in search of these famed cities of wealth and riches. After being led astray on the plains of Texas and Oklahoma by an Indian guide, Coronado sent back the main body of his army and started northward with a small party of thirty horsemen.²

The extent of Coronado's expedition into the region now known as Kansas is equivocal,³ but it is fairly certain that he crossed the Arkansas River a short distance from the present site of Ford. A crossing here had been used by both buffalo and Indians for untold ages.⁴ They traveled the north bank

¹Charles C. Howes, This Place Called Kansas. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952, p. 3.

²John Rydjord, "The Conquistadores Come to Kansas". Kansas: The First Century, ed. by Bright. Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, 1956, p. 5.

³See: James N. Basket, "A Study of the Route of Coronado Between the Rio Grande and Missouri Rivers". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1911-1912, pp. 219-2; and W. E. Richey, "Early Spanish Explorations and Indian Implements in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1903-1904, pp. 152-168.

⁴Rydjord, op. cit., p. 8.

of the Arkansas River until it turned southward. Here the group went east and northeast until they found, near what is now Lyons, some clustered villages of the Wichitas.⁵ Coronado found not riches and wealth, but the simple grass huts of the Plains Indians.

Disappointed in not finding gold, Coronado returned to Mexico. His disappointment, however, did not cause him to condemn the land he found. In his letter to the King, Coronado stated that:

the soil itself is the most suitable that has been found for growing all the products of Spain, for besides being rich and black, it is well watered by arroyos, springs, and rivers. I found plums like those of Spain, nuts, fine sweet grapes, and mulberries.⁶

Jaramillo, Coronado's chronicler, stated that:

the country has a fine appearance the like of which I have never seen anywhere in our Spain, Italy, or part of France, nor indeed in other lands where I have traveled in the service of his Majesty. It is not a hilly country, but one with mesas, plains, and charming rivers with fine waters, and it pleased me indeed. I am of the belief that it will be very productive for all sorts of commodities.⁷

This country which Coronado and his chronicler praised so highly had been the home of the Indian for untold centuries. While only three tribes, the Pawnees, Kansas, and Osages,⁸ occupied permanent settlements in the eastern section of what is now Kansas, the western high plains were used as a hunting ground by the nomadic tribes of the region. This nomadic group included

⁵Edith C. Ross, "The Quivira Village". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 17, Topeka, 1926-1928, p. 514.

⁶George P. Hammons, ed., Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, Vol. II, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1940, p. 189.

⁷Ibid., p. 305.

⁸Howes, op. cit., p. 11

the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes.⁹ The only known permanent settlement in the western portion of the state was at El Cuartelejo in Scott County, where some Pueblos settled. These Indians had left their village in what is now Northern New Mexico, because of the Spaniards, late in the seventeenth century. They journeyed to the Great Plains and settled about fifteen miles north of the present location of Scott City. These Indians were highly civilized and built the first known irrigation projects in Kansas.¹⁰

The tribes that resided permanently in the eastern region of the state were largely agriculturalists, but as the area was buffalo country, they were also great hunters. Their villages contained several types of construction, but the most common dwelling structure was the earth lodge.¹¹ These lodges ranged from a diameter of thirty to sixty feet and were sometimes built with a structure of poles, thatched with grass in a beehive form. An opening in the center above the fire-pit provided for the escape of smoke. Entrance was provided through two openings, facing opposite directions, hung with skin doors. Wigwams covered with bark and matting were used to a lesser degree in the Indian villages.¹² Conical tipis covered with skins, the popular image of an Indian dwelling, were used only for hunting trips.¹³

⁹William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957, pp. 13-16

¹⁰S. W. Williston & H. T. Martin, "Some Pueblo Ruins in Scott County". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 6, Topeka, 1897-1900, p. 130.

¹¹Eugene R. Graine, "The Indians in Kansas". Kansas: The First Century, Vol. I, ed., by Bright, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York, 1956, p. 71.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

An early description of an Osage village stated:

The villages are all built on heights within comfortable reach of wood and water. At a distance you would take them for small cities. And they do have something like streets and public squares -- everything perfectly clean. Their tents, usually thirty to thirty-five feet long and nine or ten feet high, are covered with matting and buffalo hides which protect them perfectly from the rigors of the winter, and easily admit the breeze in the summertime.¹⁴

After Coronado, a number of Spanish and French explorers crossed the Great Plains, and with the settlement of the eastern seaboard and the establishment of the United States, a stream of trappers, traders, and explorers began entering the region in ever increasing numbers. In the 250 years that had passed since Coronado, men were receiving a completely different impression of the region. In 1806, Zebulon Montgomery Pike stated:

From these immense prairies may rise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population, to certain limits, and thereby continuation of the union. Our citizens, being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers, will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation, to the wandering aborigines of the country.¹⁵

Another explorer, Major Stephen H. Long, expressed the idea that most of the country was unfit for cultivation, and, therefore, uninhabitable by an agricultural people.¹⁶ He compared the region to the deserts of Siberia. Washington Irving said of the area:

¹⁴J. Neal Carman, "The Bishop East of the Rockies Views His Diocesan, 1851-1853". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, Topeka, 1955, p. 84.

¹⁵Zebulon M. Pike, Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territories of North America. W. H. Lawrence and Co., Denver, 1889.

¹⁶Anna E. Arnold, A History of Kansas. State Printer, Topeka, Kansas, 1916, p. 24.

It could be well named the Great American Desert. It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains and desolate sand wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony. It is a land where no man permanently abides, for at certain seasons of the year there is no food for the hunter or his steed.¹⁷

The views of these men largely molded public opinion concerning the West.

The region became known as the "Great American Desert", and was so named on the maps of the time.

With the advancing wave of Western civilization pressing forward, the residing Indians on land east of the Mississippi became an increasing problem. Many plans were presented to remove all Indian tribes to a permanent Indian nation in the west. In fact, the idea of moving the Indians west was first investigated by the French following the French and Indian War. It has even been suggested that one reason for Thomas Jefferson's urgency in the purchase of the Louisiana Territory was to provide a home for the vast number of Indians in the east.¹⁸

In 1821, when the State of Missouri was admitted to the Union with definite boundaries, all lands west of it were given the anomalous title of "Indian Country". By 1825, the idea was so generally discussed that President Monroe, in a message to Congress, mentioned that the Indians could be moved west of the Mississippi to the area now Kansas and be confederated into a protectorate of the United States. Under the provisions set up by the government, the unorganized territory west of the Mississippi was not to be opened to white settlement, but was to become the home of the Indian nations being displaced in the east.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁸ *Howes, op. cit.*, p. 12.

In 1830, The Removal Act was passed. This legislation authorized the President to have the unorganized lands west of the Mississippi surveyed and divided into districts. These were offered to the Indians within the bounds of any state or territory in exchange for lands held by them at that time. In accordance with The Removal Act, treaties were made with most of the tribes east of the Mississippi. The Indian Nations were granted new lands, although this land could not be sold and would revert back to the United States should the Indians abandon them. During the next ten years, some 70,000 tribesmen were paid off and settled across the Mississippi.¹⁹

Between the years 1825 and 1850, treaties of cession and removal to the area west of the Mississippi, now Kansas, were made with twenty-nine eastern nations. These were the Brotherton, Cayuga, Cherokee, Delaware, Fox, Iowa, Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, Miami, Missouri, Munsee, Oneida, Onondaga, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Peoria, Piankashaw, Pottawatomi, Quapaw, Sac, Seneca, Shawnee, Stockbridge, St. Regis, Tigua, Tuscarora, Wea, and Wyandot.²⁰ Some of these tribes never moved to Kansas and had no representatives on the land assigned to them.

When the Indian removal was completed, new lands were opened to white settlement, and the surge westward continued. The Mississippi River had become a great artery of trade and the whites settled the entire length of it. The "desert" behind the Indians proved habitable and started drawing Americans like a magnet. The white population both east and west of the Indian Country was rapidly increasing and the idea of maintaining this consolidated Indian land

¹⁹Craine, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁰Ibid.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

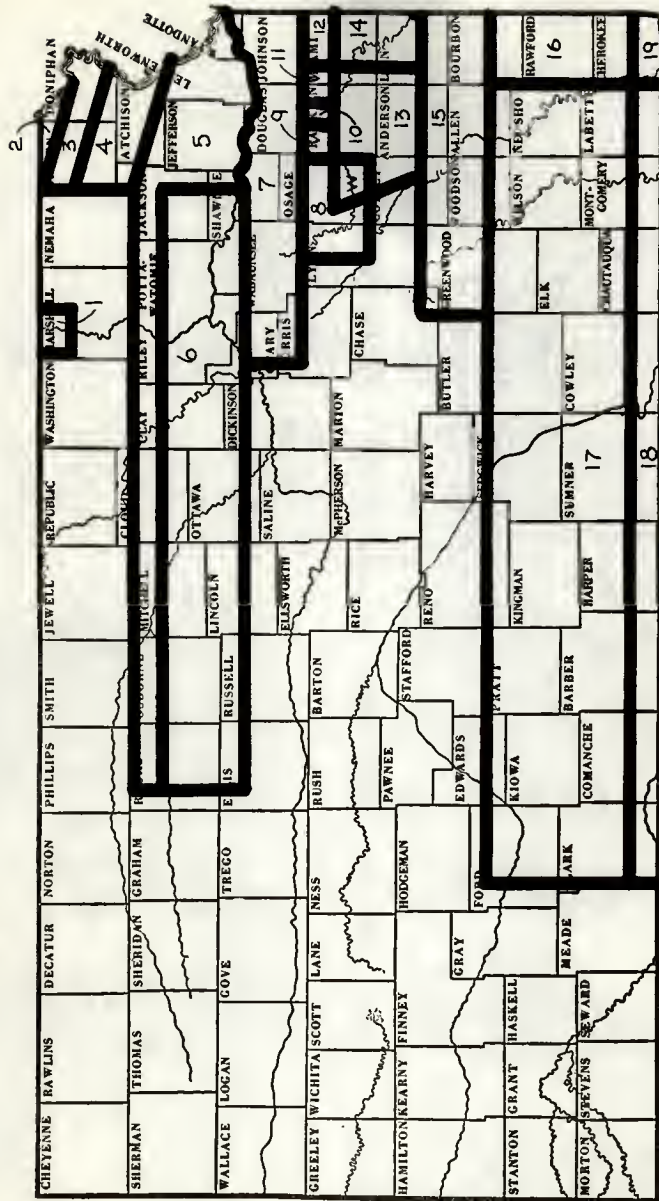
Indian Reservations in Kansas

In Territory Included in Kansas, 1846

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Otoes and Missourias | 11. Peorias and Kaskaskias |
| 2. Iowas | 12. Weas and Piankshaws |
| 3. Sacs and Foxes of Missouri | 13. Pottawatomie Reserve |
| 4. Kickapoo Reserve | 14. Miami Reserve |
| 5. Delaware Reserve and Outlet | 15. New York Indian Lands |
| 6. Kansas Reserve | 16. Cherokee Neutral Lands |
| 7. Shawnees | 17. Osage Reserve |
| 8. Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi | 18. Cherokee Strip |
| 9. Chippewa Reserve | 19. Quapaw Strip |
| 10. Ottawa Reserve | W Land in common use by 8 and 9 |

Source: Anna H. Able, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinction of Their Title". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1903-1904.

PLATE I



became less and less desirable. Public pressure was mounting to open this area to white settlement.

Therefore, less than twenty-five years after the Indian tribes had been moved to their "permanent" home, a new Indian policy came about. Under the new plan, the Indians were to be moved from the Platte and Kansas valleys in order to open the area for the extension of the frontier. The policy was to create two Indian colonies; a northern colony in the area now the Dakotas, and a southern colony in territory now Oklahoma. By 1854, the Indians of Kansas were forced to cede practically all the territory in the eastern part of the territory and the land was opened to settlement.²¹

A complete reversal in Indian policy in such a short span of time was the result of many factors. However, the primary factors were: the westward expansion of the United States into Texas and the far West; the development of the Santa Fe and Oregon Trails; the gold rush in California; a desire on the part of the North for a northern route for the Pacific Railroad; and the changed living conditions of the Indians.²²

While during the Indian occupation of Kansas no centers of civilization were left to form the nucleus of future metropolises, the fact remains that their presence in the territory was the causation of two factors which had a profound effect in developing future centers of urbanization. These two factors were the religious mission and the military fort. The missions were established to save the soul of the Indian, and the fort to save the body of the white man.

²¹ Anna H. Able, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1904, p. 72.

²² James C. Malin, Indian Policy and Westward Expansion. University of Kansas Bulletin, Humanistic Studies, Vol. 2, No. 3.

Due to the character of the fort, its influence was much greater in furthering permanent settlement than that of the mission. However, the missions, to a limited degree, were successful in establishing several centers of urbanization.

The first mission to be established in the area that is now Kansas was by the Presbyterian Church in 1824²³ -- three years before the founding of the first fort.²⁴ This mission was located on the Neosho River in what is presently Neosho County. As with most of the missions, its success was not outstanding and it was abandoned in 1829. During this time, however, it remained the only mission in the region.

In 1830, the most successful of the missions, the Shawnee Methodist Mission, was established by the Rev. Thomas Johnson in what is today Johnson County. At its height, the institution comprised sixteen buildings on 2,000 acres of land. For many years it was an outpost of civilization on the western frontier. In 1854, it became the executive office of the first territorial governor of Kansas and the legislature convened there to pass the first territorial laws.²⁵

Another successful mission was the St. Mary's Mission among the Pottawatomies. This Catholic mission was established in 1838 in Miami County, and moved to Linn County in 1839. When the Pottawatomies were moved to the

²³T. F. Morrisson, "Mission Neosho: The First Kansas Mission". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, Topeka, 1935, p. 227.

²⁴Fort Leavenworth was founded in 1827.

²⁵Martha B. Caldwell, "Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1939, p. 145

present site of Pottawatomie County, the mission relocated with the tribe to establish itself on the banks of the Kansas River. It was successful in its Indian work until 1869. The institution was later converted to a girl's school, and is now a co-educational college.

Two other missions which have survived in the form of a school are Ottawa University and Highland College. The Ottawa Mission was established by the Baptists in 1837, on the present site of Ottawa. In 1837, the Rev. S. M. Irwin established a mission among the Iowas, Saacs and Foxes in Doniphan County, near the present town of Highland.

Other missions in Kansas included:²⁶

Methodist Mission among the Delawares was established in 1834 in Wyandotte County.

Methodist Mission for the Kickapoos was founded in 1833 north of the present site of Leavenworth.

Methodist Mission for the Kansas was established in 1833 at Mission Creek, Shawnee County. When the Kansas were moved, the mission was relocated at Council Grove. It existed there from 1850 to 1854.

Baptist Mission among the Shawnees was founded in 1831 about two miles northwest of the Shawnee Methodist Mission.

Baptist Mission for the Pottawatomies was opened in 1837 near the present site of Osawatomie. When the tribe moved to a new reservation, the mission was relocated at Mission Creek in Shawnee County.

The Society of Friends established a mission among the Shawnees in 1834, about three miles west of the Methodist mission.

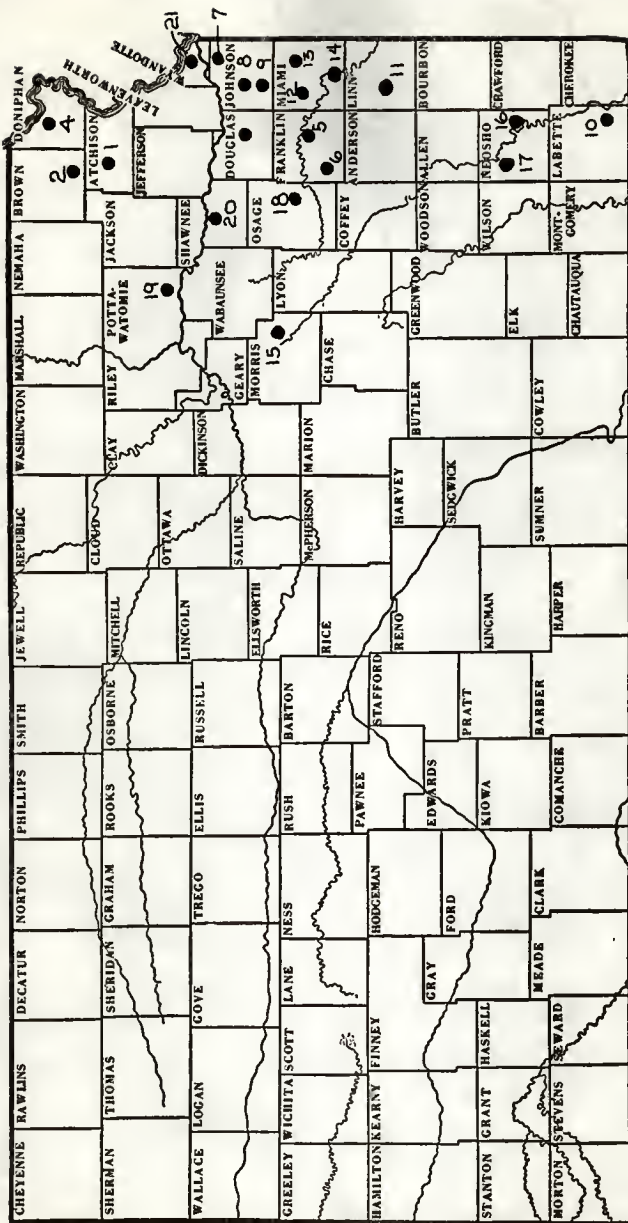
²⁶Earl L. Shoup, "Indian Missions in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1911-1912, pp. 65-69.

EXPLANATION FOR PLATE II

Indian Missions in Kansas

1. Mission and School of Methodist Church
among the Kickapoos
2. Presbyterian Missionary
3. Methodist Mission among the Shawnee
4. Presbyterian Iowa and Sac & Fox Mission
5. Baptist Mission
6. Methodist Sac & Fox Mission
7. Shawnee Mission
8. Quaker Shawnee Mission
9. Baptist Shawnee Mission
10. Hopefield Mission among the Osages
11. Sugar Creek Catholic Mission
12. Miami Mission
13. Baptist Mission among the Weas
14. Methodist Mission among the
Pottawatomies
15. Methodist Kaw Indian School
16. Bourinot Presbyterian Mission among
the Osages
17. Presbyterian Neosho Mission
18. Methodist Mission among the Sac & Fox
19. St. Mary's Catholic Mission
20. Baptist Indian Mission
21. Methodist Delaware Mission

PLATE II



Of the missions established in Kansas, only the Shawnee Methodist Mission and the St. Mary's Mission could be called truly successful as urbanization agents. To a degree, both owe their success to the fact that they were outposts on the Santa Fe Trail, and around them developed a nucleus which grew into permanent communities.

One of the main reasons for the failure of the missions to establish themselves was the inability on the part of the missionary to understand the Indian, his problems, and his culture. Of the religions represented among the Indians, only the Quakers and Catholics came close to an actual understanding of the situation.²⁷ They recognized the importance of the practical elements of civilization and closely adhered to the wishes of the Indians themselves. In addition to teaching Christianity, they made every effort to educate the Indian for self-government.²⁸

The missions failed to recognize the basic problems facing the Indian in his transition from the Neolithic age to that of the developing machine age. Instead of giving them education along lines more common to their basic needs, they were given the same classic subjects taught in eastern schools. The subjects taught boys were Latin, English, grammar, geography, philosophy, penmanship, and declamation. Girls received much the same course of study except that Latin and English were dropped and needlework added.²⁹

The policy of the missions cannot account fully for their failure. The Indians themselves did not always respond well to the efforts of the mission.

²⁷Craine, op. cit., p. 87.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions Among the Indian Tribes in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 9, Topeka, 1905-1906, p. 187.

Members of most tribes considered education and the ways of the white man degrading to the Indian character, and sent to school only boys who were orphans or dependents of the tribe. Girls were seldom allowed to attend at all.

With due consideration, the missions formed the only honest attempt the white man made to introduce the Indian to the encroaching civilization. Had the missions received more cooperation from the people and the government, and less interference by various self-interested agents and traders, they might have succeeded. On this basis they should be judged on what they attempted to do, and not what they failed to accomplish. The greatest contribution the missions has given Kansas culture is the three schools -- Ottawa University, Highland College, and St. Mary's College -- that have evolved from these early outposts of religion.

Due to its nature, the military fort offered a more exciting episode in the development and settlement of Kansas. Before the area was established as a territory, three forts were built. These were Fort Leavenworth, Fort Scott, and Fort Riley.

The first of these, Fort Leavenworth, was established in 1827 on the western bank of the Missouri River. It served as an outfitting point to the caravans going to California, as well as providing protection for the few white settlers in the area. Fort Leavenworth was the most widely known place west of St. Louis, and for many years was the center of military operations in the Missouri Valley.³⁰

³⁰E. T. Carr, "Fort Leavenworth in 1855-1856". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1911-1912, p. 375.

Fort Scott was established in 1842 on the east bank of the Marmaton River. Somewhat removed from the western commercial highways and from the scenes of Indians wars, it was used principally to defend Southern Kansas against bushwhackers. It remained in use until 1853. During the Civil War it was reopened for a short time and used as a military supply depot for the Union forces.³¹

Due to increasing Indian activity in Central and Western Kansas, Fort Riley was opened in 1853 at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill Rivers. It was first known as Fort Center, but in 1854 was renamed Fort Riley in honor of Bennet Riley. It became a center for protecting settlers during Indian wars, supplying other western forts, and drilling troops for frontier duty.³² It became famous as a cavalry center, and George A. Custer was stationed here before leaving for the ill-fated battle of Little Big Horn.

After the opening of Kansas Territory, more and more people used the trails on their journey westward, and it became necessary to establish a new series of forts for their protection. The trail to Denver was protected by Fort Harker, Fort Wallace, and Fort Hays.

Fort Harker was first established as Fort Ellsworth in 1864. The original site of the fort was on the north bank of the Smoky Hill River, at the crossing of the Santa Fe Trail. It was the first and only settlement between Salina and Fort Zarah on the Arkansas River. In 1866, the name was changed to Fort Harker. The following year the fort was removed to a new site about three quarters

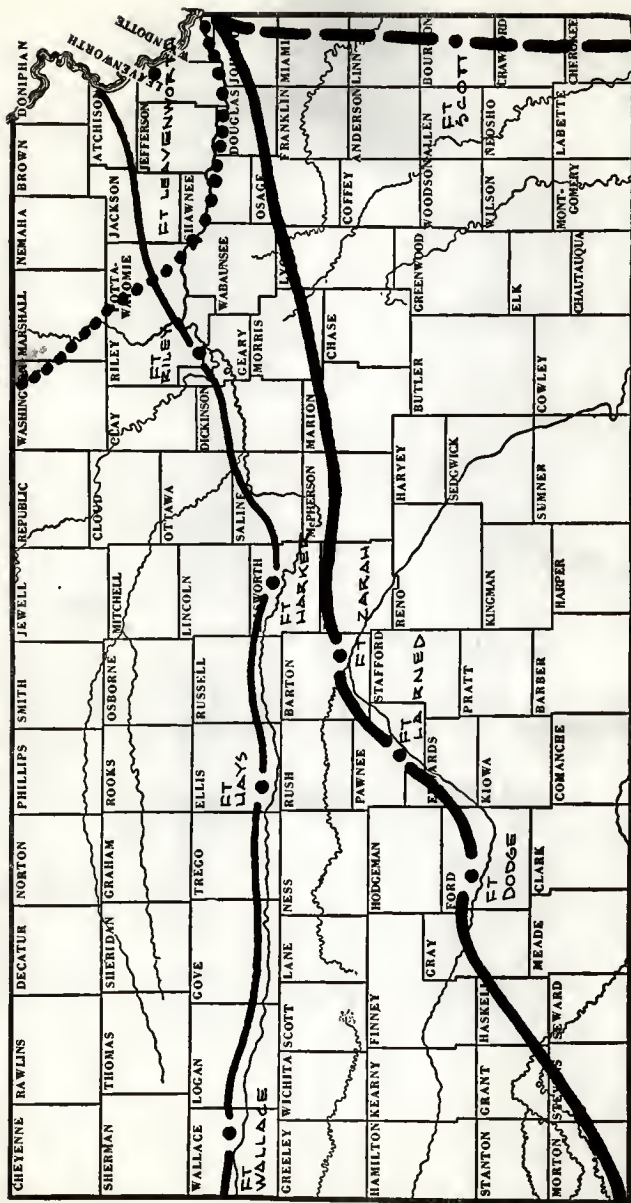
³¹Louise Barry, "The Fort Scott-Fort Gibson Road and the Founding of Fort Scott". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1942, p. 115.

³²Woodbury F. Pride, The History of Fort Riley. Fort Riley Press, Fort Riley, Kansas, 1926, p. 98.

EXPLANATION FOR PLATE III

Principal Forts and Trails in Kansas
1848-1870

PLATE III



SANTA FE TRAIL

OREGON TRAIL

BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND DISPATCH

EAST SHAWNEE TRAIL

of a mile northeast of the original one. The advent and extension of the Kansas Pacific Railroad put an end to its usefulness, and in the fall of 1873 it was abandoned. In 1880, the military reservation was opened to settlement.³³

Fort Wallace, first called Camp Pond Creek, was established in 1865 at the junction of Pond Creek and the south fork of the Smoky Hill River near the present town of Wallace. It was an important post during the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. It was abandoned as a fort in 1882, and in 1888 the land was ordered sold.³⁴

Fort Hays was established in 1865 and was first known as Fort Fletcher. In 1866, the name was changed to Fort Hays. The fort was originally located on Big Creek about fourteen miles southeast of the present site of Hays City, but a flood in the spring of 1867 destroyed the post. It was then relocated about one mile west of Hays.³⁵ It was used as a military post until 1889. In 1900 the state secured the land for educational purposes. Fort Hays State College and an agricultural experiment station for Kansas State University are now located there.³⁶

On the Santa Fe Trail were Fort Larned, Fort Zarah, and Fort Dodge. Fort Larned was established in 1859 on the south bank of Pawnee Fork, about eight

³³George Jelinek, The Ellsworth Story. The Messenger Press, Ellsworth, 1957.

³⁴F. C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 28, Topeka, 1928, p. 189.

³⁵James H. Beach, "Old Fort Hays". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1910, p. 571

³⁶Arnold, op. cit., p. 220

miles from its confluence with the Arkansas River. It was first known as Camp of the Pawnee Ford and later as Camp Alert. In 1860, it was officially named Fort Larned. For ten years it served as an important military post. With the removal of all Indians from the region and the completion of the transcontinental railroads, its purpose was terminated, and in 1869 it was abandoned as a fort.³⁷ Today its facilities have been restored and it serves as a leading tourist attraction for the City of Larned.

Fort Zarah was established in 1864, about four miles east of the present city of Great Bend, on the east bank of Walnut Creek. It served as an active fort until 1869. It was dismantled and the reservation was later sold.³⁸

Fort Dodge was established in 1864 on the north bank of the Arkansas River, about two miles east of the present site of Dodge City. The site had been an old camping ground on the Santa Fe Trail. Fort Dodge was considered the most important of all the forts on the Santa Fe and quartered more soldiers than any other post on the plains. In 1882, due to the end of Indian raids on the terminating frontier, the fort was abandoned.³⁹

There were also many minor fortifications in Kansas. These included:⁴⁰

Fort Atkinson, one of the early forts erected along the Santa Fe Trail, was

³⁷William E. Unrau, "The Story of Fort Larned". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 23, Topeka, 1957, p. 257.

³⁸M. H. Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 1, Topeka, 1932, p. 50.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Arnold, op. cit., pp. 219-221.

located on the Arkansas River about six miles above the present site of Dodge City. This fort was built in 1850 and abandoned in 1854. It was known for a few months as Fort Macksy, when the name was changed to Fort Atkinson.

Fort Mann was erected around 1845 near the site on which Fort Atkinson was later built.

Fort Saunders was a proslavery stronghold about twelve miles southeast of Lawrence in 1856. It was destroyed by a group of free-state settlers the same year.

Fort Titus, located about two miles south of Lecompton, was a log house used as a proslavery fortification. It was captured and destroyed by free-state forces shortly after the destruction of Fort Saunders.

Fort Wakarusa was a free-state fortification on the Wakarusa River, about five miles from Lawrence.

Fort Baxter, a military post, was established in 1863. It was the scene of an attack by Quantrill, known as the Baxter Springs massacre. After the Civil War, the town of Baxter Springs grew up on the site.

Fort Downer was located on Downer's Creek, about fifty miles west of Fort Hays. It was in existence between 1863 and 1868.

Fort Lincoln was built by General Lane in 1861, about twelve miles northwest of Fort Scott, for protection from the Confederate forces. It was abandoned in 1864.

Fort Aubrey was one of the forts established in 1865 by the soldiers sent to quell the Indian uprisings. It was located near the present town of Mayline in Hamilton County. It was abandoned the following year.

Fort Jewell was erected in 1870 on the site of Jewell City for the protection of settlers against the Cheyennes who were then on the warpath. It

consisted of a wall of earth around a fifty-yard square. After the Indian troubles were over Fort Jewell was abandoned.

These forts were small, insignificant stations for the most part, consisting merely of a wall of earth thrown up, or a strongly built log cabin within a line of earthworks or line of palisades.

The importance of the fort in the settlement of Kansas cannot be over-asserted, for these bases protected travelers, stages, wagontrains, and railroad survey and construction parties; all essential in the development of the Great Plains.⁴¹

Of the many trails which transversed the territory, the Santa Fe was the earliest and most glamorous. In 1821, Captain William Becknell took cloth, clothes, trinkets, and other supplies which he thought the Indians would buy and went to Santa Fe, New Mexico. His reports of successful trading sent other adventurers over the trail, and by 1825 business had become so large and profitable that the United States Government sent out a commission to make a treaty with the Osage Indians for the unmolested use of the trail through the Osage lands.⁴² Later the trail route was surveyed by government engineers, and forts were established to protect the caravans.

Business on the trail grew into one of the most extensive freight movements in the country, employing thousands of men, horses, and mules.⁴³ The Santa Fe

⁴¹The fort was a major influence in determining names for nearby towns, as well as providing the nucleus for urban development. Cities in Kansas which have taken their names from forts are: Leavenworth from Fort Leavenworth; Fort Scott from Fort Scott; Dodge City from Fort Dodge; Wallace from Fort Wallace; Ellsworth from Fort Ellsworth (later Fort Harker); Larned from Fort Larned; and Hays from Fort Hays.

⁴²Kate L. Gregg, ed., The Road to Santa Fe. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1952, p. 35.

⁴³Walker D. Wyman, "Freighting: A Big Business on the Santa Fe Trail". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 1, Topeka, 1932, p. 17.

Trail flourished up to the period of the Civil War, was resumed at the close of that period, and continued to some extent until the Santa Fe Railroad was built in the 1870's.

The Oregon Trail started at Westport, Missouri, as did the Santa Fe,⁴⁴ and followed the Santa Fe route for some miles into Kansas. Near the present vicinity of Topeka, and Santa Fe Trail turned southwest while the Oregon Trail turned to the northeast.⁴⁵ The Oregon Trail followed the Kansas River Valley to the Vermillion. There it turned northwest to cross the Blue River near Marysville, and then on into Nebraska.

The Colorado Trail started at St. Joseph, Missouri, and went west along the present northern border of Kansas. It did not become an important trail until gold and silver were discovered in the Colorado Rockies. Then the gold rush brought traffic in vast volumes over the trail. The road began to fade after 1859 when the gold fields around Denver declined.

The army constructed a network of military highways over the territory, and the Mormons, seeking to reach their Utopia in Utah, developed trails of their own. After the end of the Civil War, David Butterfield and Benjamin Holladay established a stage coach line which ran across the state. However, the rapid advance of the railroads ended this venture within a few years.

The trails that penetrated the frontier brought with them a sea of settlers who took from the Indian his life-long home. While living in the region that comprises Kansas today, the Indian did not contribute directly to the establishment of permanent centers of urbanization. His presence, however, did

⁴⁴The starting point on the Santa Fe Trail was first at Franklin, Missouri. It later moved westward to Independence and then to Westport, Missouri.

⁴⁵Hoves, op. cit., p. 9.

necessitate the founding of forts and missions which were influential factors in the settling of communities. The greatest influence the Indian has exerted over Kansas has been in its names and through this, his memory will live forever. The name of the state, its capital city, its three principal cities, the three largest rivers, sixteen counties, fourteen rivers and streams, and fifty-three cities and towns⁴⁶ bear Indian names. This living tribute to a people who dwelled on the Great Plains for centuries before this nation was founded, establishes them a permanent place in the heritage of Kansas.

⁴⁶ Arkansas City, Chautauqua, Cherokee, Centopa, Hiawatha, Genda Springs, Kansas City, Kechi, Kiowa, Lenape, Mankato, Mingo, Montezuma, Muncie, Muscotah, Narka, Neodesha, Neosho Falls, Netawaka, Niagara, Ogallah, Oketo, Olathe, Onaga, Oneida, Osage City, Osage Mission, Osawatimie, Oskaloosa, Oswego, Ottawa, Pawnee Rock, Paola, Peoria, Pontiac, Powhattan, Quenemo, Quindaro, Satanta, Seneca, Shawnee, Sitka, Tecumseh, Tonganoxie, Topeka, Towanda, Wabaunsee, Wanago, Wakarusa, Wathena, Winona and Wichita.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE
FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KANSAS TERRITORY

Within the succession of events which led to the Civil War, the political struggle over the opening of Kansas Territory to white settlement played a dominant role.

To comprehend the situation completely, one must go back in history to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which declared that slavery, except for the State of Missouri, was prohibited north of the southern boundary of Missouri (36° 30' north latitude). Under this compromise, Maine came into the Union as a free state, while Missouri entered as slave. From that time on, political power was balanced by the admittance of two states at a time, one free and one slave. In 1850 the South realized this plan could not go on forever and that the time had come to strike for repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Prior to this, in 1844, Stephen A. Douglas had introduced a bill to establish the Territory of Nebraska, which was to include the country between thirty-six thirty and the north line of present-day Nebraska, but no action was taken. Douglas was greatly interested in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific to develop the West. Its location and eastern terminus were keenly sought by the major cities of the Middle West. A southern route seemed most appropriate as the region west of Missouri was Indian country -- unorganized territory in which settlement was forbidden by Federal law. Until this territory was organized, the North would not have a chance for the road nor could one of its cities be the eastern terminus. It was with this in mind that Douglas first introduced the Nebraska bill.¹

¹Fred W. Wellborn, The Growth of American Nationality. The McMillan Company, New York, 1943, p. 783.

In 1850 compromise measures were passed which provided that the remainder of the territory acquired from Mexico would be organized without restrictions regarding slavery. The question of slavery would be decided by the people residing in the area. This became known as "popular sovereignty" and superseded the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

In December, 1853, a bill was again introduced for the organization of Nebraska Territory by Senator Dodge of Iowa. It was referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Douglas was chairman. Douglas knew the bill would not succeed without southern support. To get the bill through, Douglas was willing to make a concession. In January, 1854, he reported the bill with the following amendments:

And be it further enacted, that in order to avoid all misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles established by the compromise measures of 1850 to wit:

First: That all questions pertaining to slavery in the territories and in the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

Second: That all cases involving title to slaves, and questions of personal freedom, are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunal with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Third: That provisions of the Constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service are to be carried into faithful execution in all the organized territories the same as in the states:

²Woodbury F. Pride. The History of Fort Riley. The Fort Riley Press, Fort Riley, Kansas, 1926, p. 98.

In other words, popular sovereignty, as employed in the Compromise of 1850, was extended to Nebraska.³ Douglas explained that he was of the opinion that the "principles of the 1850 Compromise were not intended to be local but had superseded the Missouri Compromise which definitely had barred slavery in all territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30'."⁴

Although the bill implied the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the South was not satisfied. Senator Archibald Dixon of Kentucky, therefore, offered an amendment calling for explicit repeal. Douglas then substituted the bill in the form of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which provided for the creation of two territories and repealed the Missouri Compromise in the following words:

Which, being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.⁵

The reason for the division into two territories was not that the South should count on another slave state. "Rather, it was because Dodge and his Iowa colleagues, believing that the seat of government and leading thoroughfares must fall south of their state if only one territory were organized, asked Douglas for two."⁶ To Douglas it made no difference if there were one or twelve so he readily complied.

³Nebraska Territory at this time included the area that is now Kansas.

⁴Wellborn. op. cit., p. 784.

⁵Pride, op. cit., p. 100.

⁶Wellborn. op. cit., p. 785.

Early in the morning of March 4, after an all-night session, the bill passed the Senate by a majority of twenty-three votes. In the House unexpected opposition appeared as many members appeared with pistols and bowie knives.⁷ The bill was finally passed by the House of Representatives on May 22, by a slender margin of thirteen votes. On May 30, 1854, President Pierce affixed his signature to the Act.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was easily one of the most fateful legislative measures in American history. It swept away the worthwhile results of the Compromise of 1850, renewed the sectional strife with increased bitterness, and started a train of events that led to secession and the Civil War.⁸

A leading figure behind the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was Senator David R. Atchison of Missouri. Senator Atchison was the leader of the pro-slavery movement in Western Missouri which, under his direction, was preparing to take over Kansas upon her admission as a territory. Western Missouri contained over fifty thousand slaves in 1854, worth twenty-five million dollars,⁹ and Missourians were fully aware of the importance of having the territory admitted as slave.

During the three months immediately preceding the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act treaties were quietly made in Washington with the Delawares, Ojibwas, Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, Shawnees, Sac, Foxes, and other tribes, whereby the greater part of the Kansas Territory, lying within one to two hundred miles of the Missouri border, was suddenly opened to white appropriation and settlement.

⁷Ibid. p. 786.

⁸Ibid.

⁹John G. Haskell, "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 7, 1901-1902, Topeka, p. 28.

These simultaneous purchases of the Indian land by the government, though little known elsewhere, were thoroughly understood and appreciated by a small element of Missourians on the western border. For some time they had been organizing "Elud Lodges", "Social Bands", "Sons of the South", and other societies with the intent to take possession of Kansas in behalf of slavery.

Immediately upon the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Senator Atchison telegraphed the news to his friends in Weston, Missouri, with the instructions "Go over and take possession of the good land, it is yours".¹⁰

The stage had been set.

¹⁰H. Miles Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County. Samuel Dodsworth Book Co., Leavenworth, 1906, p. 18.

CHAPTER III
SCHEMES OF SETTLEMENT
BY EMIGRANT AID SOCIETIES AND LAND SPECULATORS

Kansas was admitted as a territory in May, 1854 under the principal of popular sovereignty, or "squatter sovereignty" as the phrase became better known. The great rush was on as both the North and the South prepared their strategy for the "conquest" of Kansas.

In the east, emigrant societies were formed to aid abolitionist settlers who were going to Kansas. The aid societies in New England were numerous but in the final count, their influence was negligible. These societies included the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, New England Emigrant Aid Company, The Emigrant Aid Company of New York and Connecticut, The Union Emigrant Society, The Kansas Aid Society, and the National Kansas Company.¹

The South was no less diligent in seeking settlers for Kansas. Several societies were organized in Georgia and Alabama with branches in other states. The Alabama colony sent a large group to Kansas but the caprices of Kansas climate proved too great for the settlers from the deep South. After experiencing a year of the cutting winds and biting cold of winter and the hot, dry winds of summer they returned home.

The census of 1860 showed that the greatest number of persons in the territory were not of either New England or Southern origin, but came from the Middle West. Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, New York, and Iowa, in that order, contributed the greatest number of emigrants.

¹William H. Carruth, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company as an Investment Society". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 6, Topeka, 1897-1900, p. 96.

Who were these early emigrants to Kansas and what were their motives? Supported by contemporary writers, the myth has developed that the first settlers were stern New England Puritans who came to Kansas as crusaders to preserve it from slavery. They have been depicted in heroic scale with a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other. John Steuart Curry carried this theme forward in his murals at Topeka with a fiery John Brown in the traditional pose.

In his poem, The Song of the Kansas Emigrant, John Greenleaf Whittier stated:

We cross the prairie as of old
The fathers crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

Many authors of the time declared that men came to Kansas for political rather than for business or agricultural reasons, and that there was little consideration on the part of the early settlers of Kansas on any question except slavery and anti-slavery.

Another facet of the reputation of Kansas, closely linked to that of their supposed puritan New England origin, was that they were a "Bible-toting, hymn-singing lot, deeply steeped in the somber hues of evangelistic Calvinism". The 1860 census, as earlier stated, clearly shows that the early Kansans were not of New England origin. If the reigning spirit was puritanism, it came by way of the Middle West, not Cape Cod. This deeply religious character seems to have been largely derived from the political propagandists of the day who were constantly contrasting the pious Free State Kansans to the "whisky-swilling, tobacco-spitting Border Ruffians" of Missouri. "One remarkable feature of the social conditions here", wrote John Ingalls to his father back

home in Massachusetts, "is a total disregard of the Sabbath; perhaps because there are no churches".² In another letter Ingalls wrote:

I went up to Atchison, the headquarters of the border ruffians, last Sunday . . . in hopes of finding an Episcopal church, having understood that one was organized there. I was unsuccessful in my search, and was surprised to find the shops all open, whisky shops full of cursing Democrats, the click of billiard balls, and the dull thunder of tinpin alleys.³

David R. Cobb simply stated that "the people are not a church-going people if I was to judge from those I saw out last Sabbath and today."⁴

As far as coming to Kansas to keep it free from slavery, if the full truth were known, much of the "bloodshed in Kansas just prior to the Civil War was occasioned by the stupidity of men and their hunger for land. Many crimes, committed in the name of freeing the slaves or making Kansas a slave state, in reality merely covered the avarice of the land-hungry settlers".⁵ Senator Louis T. Wigfall of Texas declared: "The inhabitants of that so-called state are outlaws and land pirates . . . I shall not consent that Texas shall associate herself with such a state".⁶

"We came to Kansas", said one settler, "to better our conditions, incidentally expecting to make it a free state".⁷ Even this revelation of reason probably is indicative of only the more idealistic upper stratum of the

²Connelley, ed., "Some Ingalls Letters". Kansas Historical Collections Vol. 14, Topeka, 1915-1918, p. 115.

³Ibid.

⁴Cobb, ed., "Letters of David R. Cobb, 1858-1864". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1942, p. 69.

⁵Everett Dick, The Sod-House Frontier 1854-1890. Johnsen Publishing Company, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1954, p. 27.

⁶Quoted in Leverett W. Spring, Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. Borton, 1890, p. 264.

⁷Carruth, op. cit., p. 93.

immigrants. The bulk of the thousands who poured into Kansas after the opening of the territory were driven by sheer land hunger and little or nothing else. Several authors have suggested that the average settler was not so much against slavery because of the moral issues involved, but because it presented a threat to his security. Slavery represented an institution which the small farmer could not compete against, and only by keeping Kansas free could he improve his socio-economic status.

The fact that early Kansans were land hungry can be derived from the circumstance that so many land speculators were laying out townsites. At one time it was seriously contemplated to petition the General Land Office to interfere so that a portion of the public lands in Eastern Kansas might be set aside as farming land, and not be completely covered with townsites. Legislation providing for the reservation of townsites was enacted by Congress in 1844. It provided that three hundred and twenty acres could be held as a town site when it was occupied. Such a plot was not subject to entry at the land office under the preemption act. The owners of the townsite were given the privilege of buying the plot at the minimum price. The disposal of the lots and the proceeds of the sales thereof were to be in accordance with the regulations of the legislative authority of the state or territory in which the town was located.⁸

The early Kansan was essentially a town builder. The settler who did not dream of a future metropolis on his section was very much the exception. Every person who had settled upon a decent section near a creek or a crossroad, soon

⁸United States Public Statutes at Large, 28th Congress, First Session, Vol. V, p. 657.

turned it into a townsite. If he could succeed in persuading several others who had a little money to join him, they formed a company. With a company established, the site was surveyed and laid off into block, lots, streets, alleys, public squares, etc., and lithographic maps were printed to lure new emigrants to their townsite.

If one will examine the plats of the towns and cities of Kansas, he will find almost without exception a collection of neatly arranged grid systems. This is no accident, for Kansas communities, as has been noted, were established on paper before settlement occurred. For the most part, these plans were laid out by engineers and surveyors who followed as their pattern the strict arrangement of range and township lines established by Federal decree.

This rectangular parceling of land became the basis of design, and natural features such as rivers, hills, and valleys were ignored. Land was measured in terms of quick and profitable turnover and subdivision practices were designed to enhance these prospects. Thus the pattern of future development in the towns and cities in Kansas was fairly sealed in this package of the gridiron plan.

An exception to the rigid grid can be found in the towns of Hatfield, Hugoton and Montezuma.⁹ Under the L'Enfant influence these towns adapted a radial plan, a system of diagonal streets overlaid with a grid pattern. However, all other towns were bound in the legal straight-jacket of government surveys.

At the hotels in Western Missouri, representatives of the various towns in Kansas worked feverishly to interest people in the new towns across the river.

⁹This is the original plat for the town of Montezuma which was vacated in 1895. The present city of Montezuma is a mile and a half from the old town site and was laid out in 1912 by the Santa Fe Railroad.

Men were constantly coming and going, bearing rolls of paper covered with sketches of future cities. Some displayed mineral ore and other products to induce prospective buyers. They offered shares in town stock at so much a share. It was the habit of those promoting various townsites to have an agent at the river landings to meet the new emigrants and verbally advertise his townsite.

A writer in the *Kansas Herald*, May 4, 1855, said:

In some localities it has become almost a mania with many speculators in town stock. New towns are being laid off, and each one claiming some advantages over its predecessor either in natural location, timber, adjacent country, proximity to certain points, mineral resources, the best location for the capitol, or some other as absurd desideratum as the last, when in fact none, or but very few of the advantages claimed are possessed.¹⁰

Several methods were employed to attract residents to the townsites. Elaborate lithographs were prepared which gave glorified visual descriptions of almost nonexistent cities. These lithographs showed pictures of broad shaded streets, churches, opera houses, elegant residences, and magnificent wharves with puffing steamers. Thousands of people came to Kansas on the sole evidence of having seen one such pictorial presentation.

John J. Ingalls was one such person lured to Kansas by a lithograph displayed in the law office where he worked in Massachusetts. Upon his arrival at his destination (Sumner) he found not the commercial city of large proportions he had been led to expect, but a small cluster of dilapidated houses. There were none of the churches, schools, respectable residences, shops, hotels, and industry pictured, only a few small grocery stores with the few common articles demanded by the impoverished citizenry. Only one

¹⁰Dick, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

EXPLANATION FOR PLATE IV

View of Iola, Kansas in 1872 showing
gridiron system and business district
built around a public square.



REFERENCES.

- 1 Permanent Channel
- 2 Rapids
- 3 L.L.A. & B. Bridge
- 4 Allen Co. Jail

VIEW OF



KANSAS, 1872.

REFERENCES.

- 1 L.L.A. & B. Bridge
- 2 Leland House
- 3 Allen Co. Jail
- 4 Allen Co. Jail
- 5 Flouring Mills
- 6 Flouring Mills

EXPLANATION FOR PLATE V

View of Concordia, Kansas in 1879
showing predominant grid system.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI

Great Bend, Kansas in 1880 showing
business district built around central
square with county court house.



Drawn by D.D. Meyer

Left Bridge over bridge

GREAT BEND,
KANSAS, COUNTY SEAT BARTON CO.
ON THE AT & P. R.R. AND ARKANSAS RIVER

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII

View of Herington, Kansas showing
grid system.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE
CITY OF HERINGTON,
KANSAS.

EXPLANATION FOR PLATE VIII

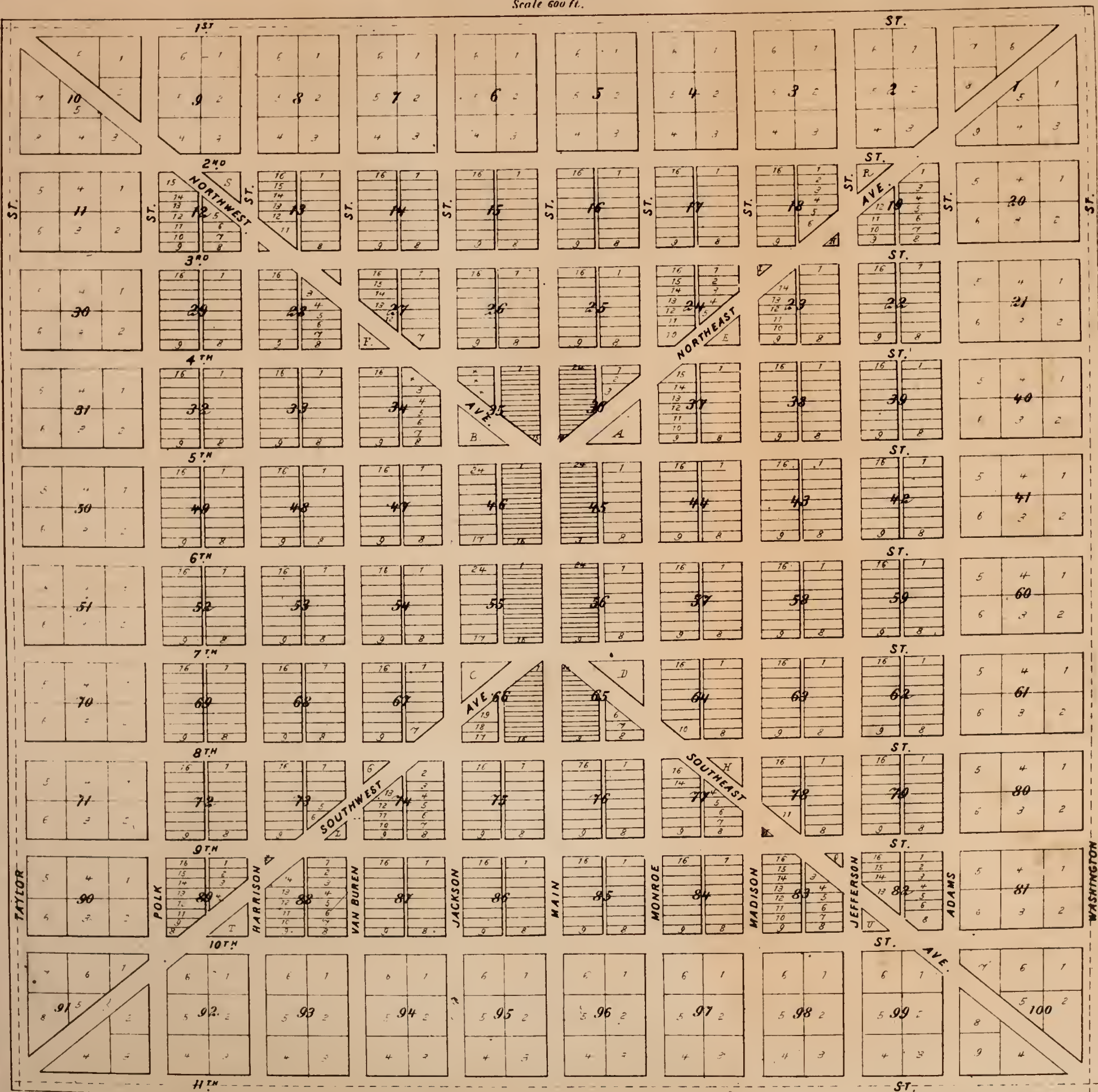
Plan of Hugoton, Kansas showing the
L'Enfant influence of radial streets
superimposed on a standard gridiron.

HUGOTON

STEVENS CO.

Scale 600 ft.

PLATE VIII



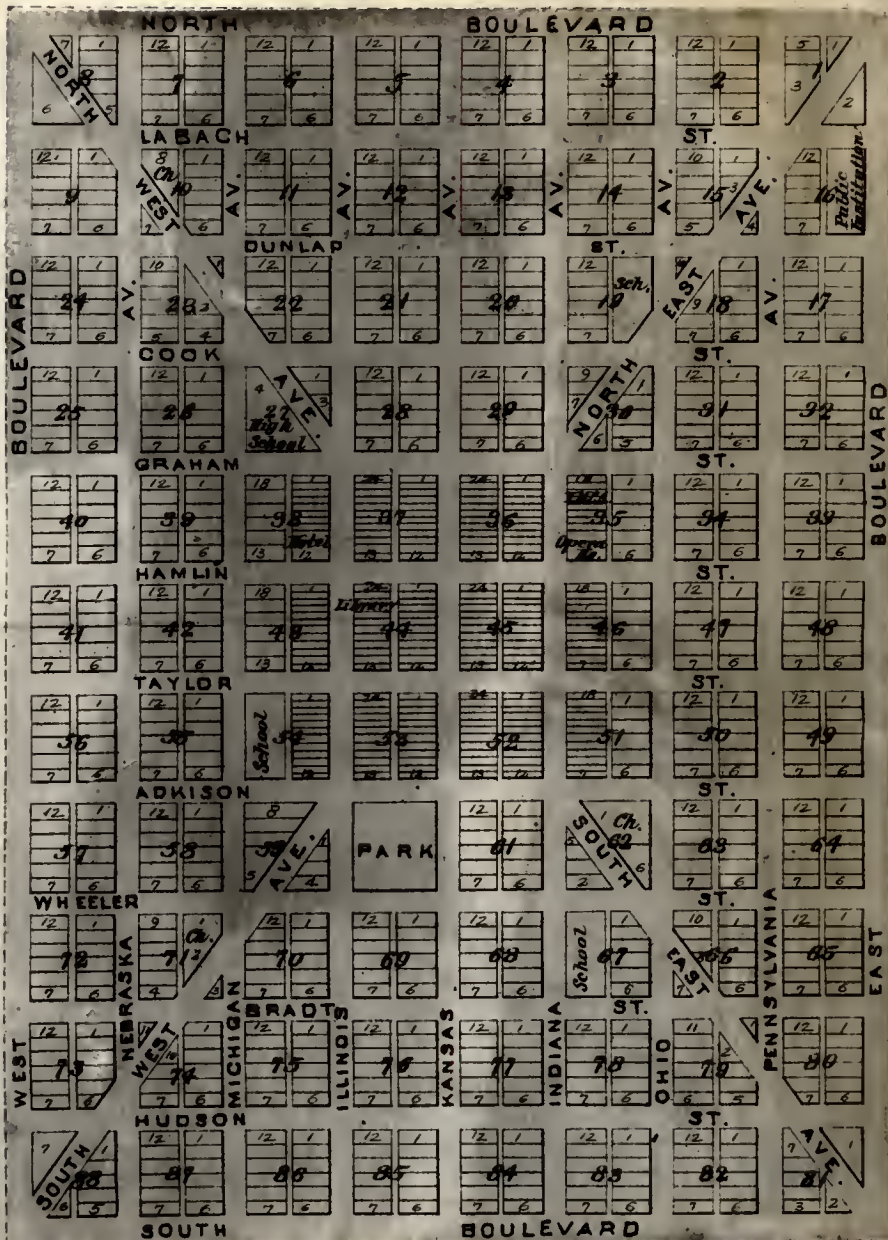
EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX

Plat of Montezuma, Kansas showing
the L'Enfant influence.

L Wells, 1886

GRAY CO.
Scale 600 feet - 1 inch

49

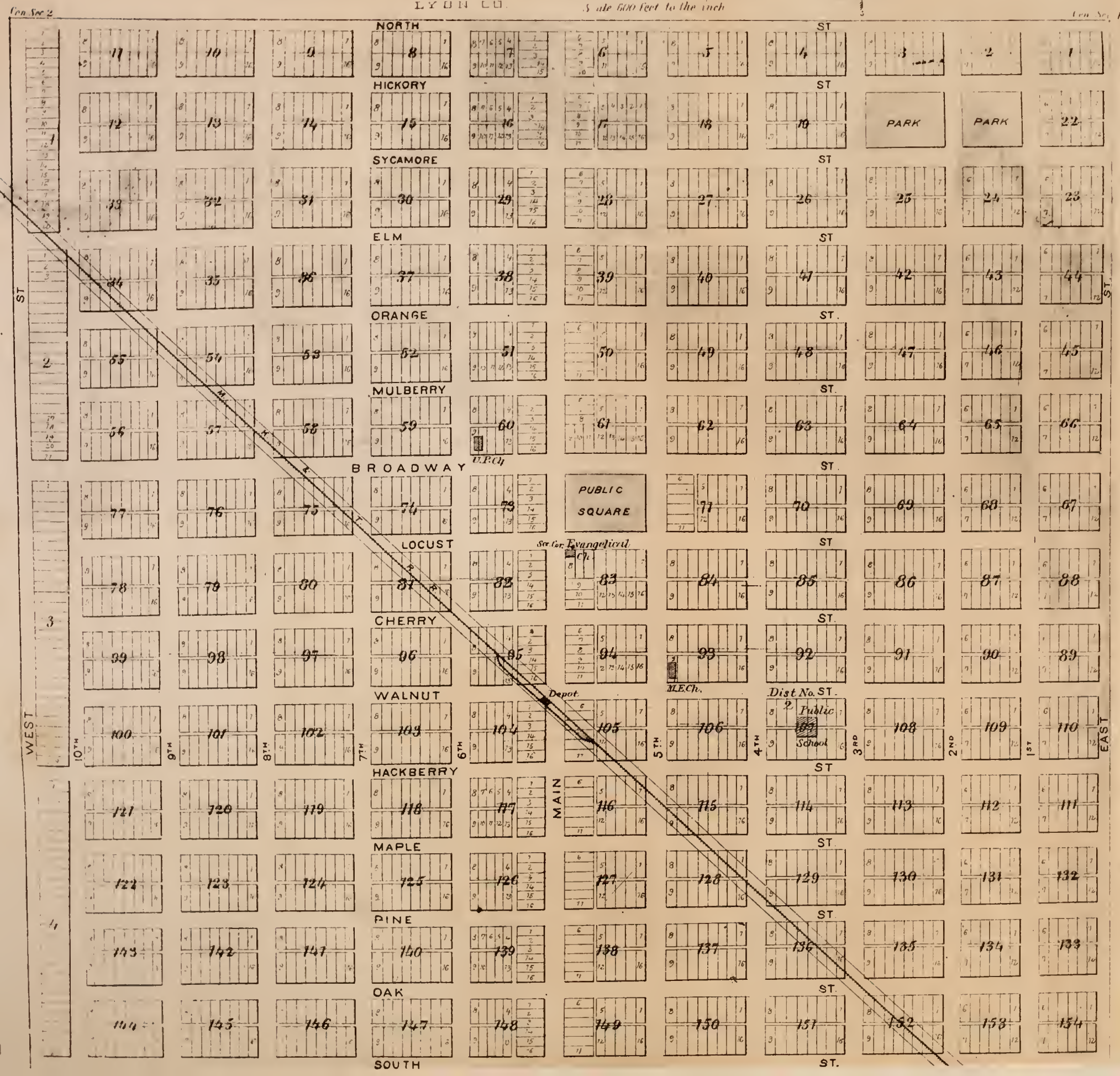


EXPLANATION OF PLATE X

Plat of Americus, Kansas showing
the standard grid system as was
commonly applied to most Kansas
towns.

Scale 600 feet to the inch

Len. Sp. 1



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI

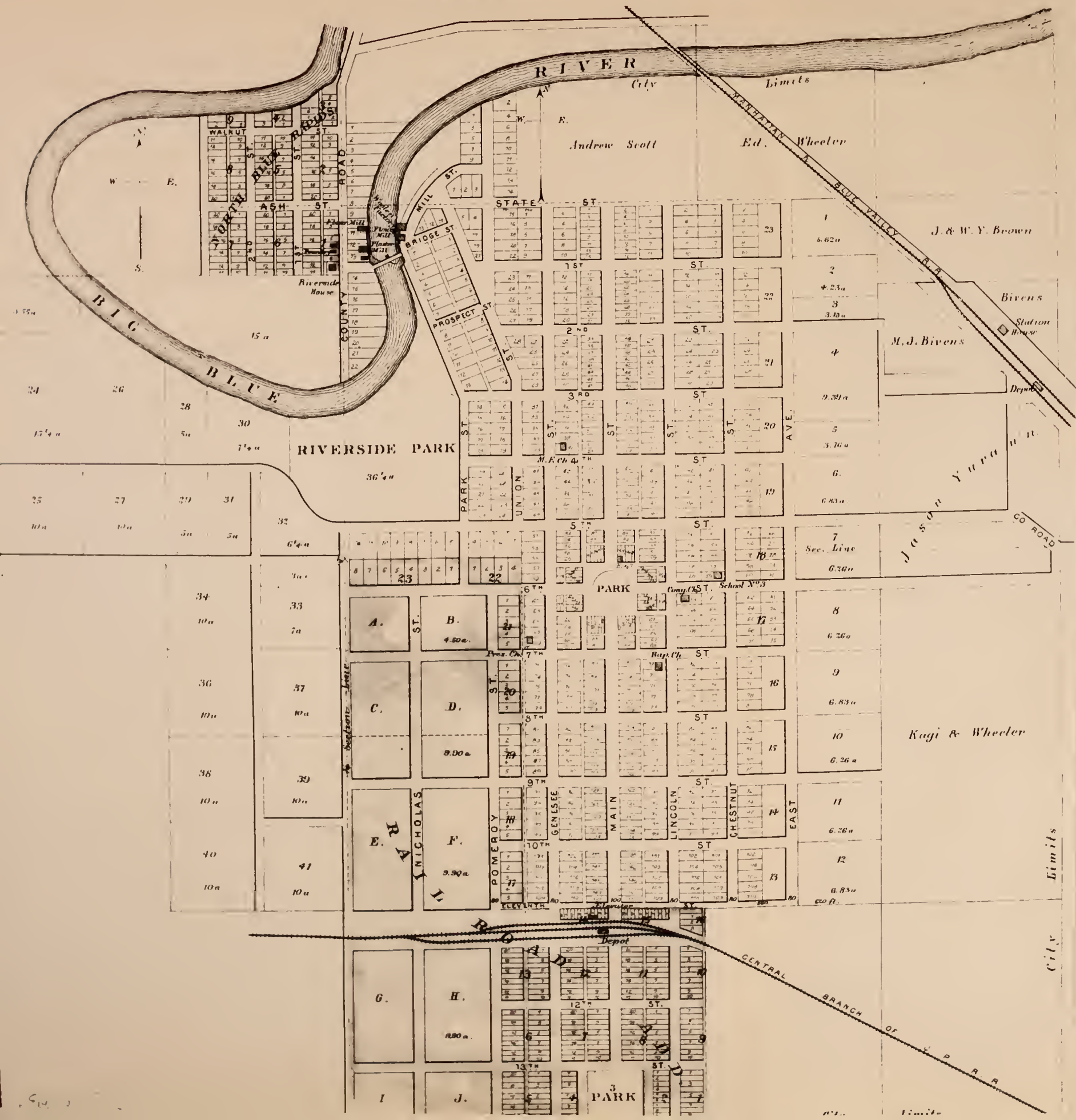
Plat of Blue Rapids, Kansas showing
business district built around a
circular park. This type plan was
also used in the original plat of
Randolph, Kansas.

BLUE RAPIDS

(MARSHALL CO.)

Scale 600 ft. to the inch.

PLATE XI



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII

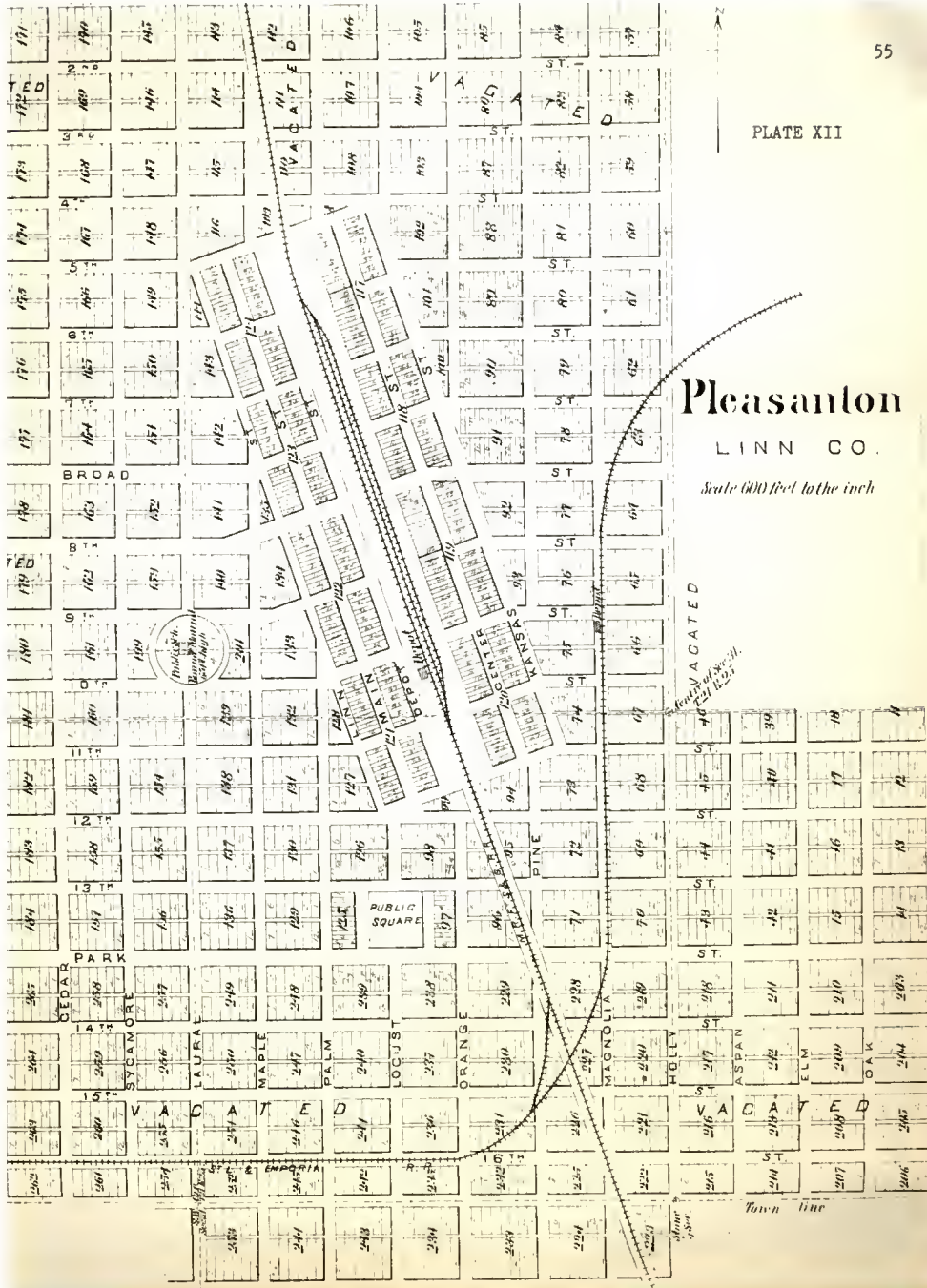
Flat of Pleasanton, Kansas showing original portion of town built in relation to the railroad tracks and later addition platted on a true north-south system. Note the consequent jogging of the street pattern.

PLATE XII

Pleasanton

LINN CO.

Scale 600 feet to the inch



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII

Plat of Hays, Kansas showing original design of city corresponding in relation to position of railroad tracks and later additions built on true north-south grid system. Compare with plat of Pleasanton.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIV

Flat of Manhattan, Kansas showing
public squares and market places.
Based upon design of Philadelphia
by William Penn.

MANHATTAN

Riley Co

KANSAS

8 mi. long 17 mi. wide

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

AND

FARM

1 mi. long 1 mi. wide

MANHATTAN
PARK
AND
FAIR GROUNDS



street, interspersed with stumps, had any pretensions of a grade. The others were footpaths leading up and down the wild ravines to shabby cabins and miserable huts. Of the two hundred houses some were without chimneys, some without windows and doors, some without shingles or clapboards, resting merely on heaps of stones or stumps of trees, and scattered without any regard to order or regularity.¹¹

"I did not anticipate the clean and healthy thrift of a New England village, nor the noisy splendor of a metropolis", he wrote his father in Massachusetts, "but I am quite unable to convey to you any definite idea of the disappointment, not unmingled with anger and mortification, with which I contemplate the state of affairs here. I wish I could give you a photograph of the place, but a new western village is truly indescribable in language".¹²

In writing of the lithograph which brought him to Kansas, Mr. Ingalls said:

That chromatic triumph of lithographed mendacity, supplemented by the loquacious embellishments of a lively adventurer who has been laying out town sites and staking off corner lots for some years past, exhibited a scene in which the attractions of art, nature, science, commerce and religion were artistically blended. Innumerable drays were transporting merchandise over ruse pavements to colossal warehouses of brick and stone. Dense side streets of elegant residences rose with gentle ascent from the shores of the tranquil stream. Numerous parks, decorated with rare trees, shrubbery and fountains were surrounded with the mansions of the great and temples of their devotion. The adjacent eminences were crossed with costly piles which wealth, directed by intelligence and controlled by taste, had erected for the education of the rising generations of Summerites. The only shadow upon the enchanting landscape fell from the clouds of smoke that poured from the towering shafts of her manufactories, while the whole circumference of the undulating

¹¹Connelley, ed., op. cit., p. 100.

¹²Ibid.

prairie was white with endless simous trains of wagons, slowly moving toward the mysterious region of the farther West.¹³

In spite of Mr. Ingalls' initial impression, he remained in Sumner until its extinction in 1860. After Sumner lost the county seat and railroad to Atchison, three miles to the north, its demise came fast.

Successive summers' rains and winters' snows furrowed streets and alleys beyond recognition . . . a tangled mass of briars and brambles hid away the last vestige of the once busy, ambitious city. The forest, again unweaved by ax or saw, asserted his dominion once more, and today, beneath the shadow cast by mighty oaks and sighing cottonwoods, Sumner lies dead and forgotten.¹⁴

Many of the towns planned in Kansas never got beyond the paper state.

The Boston Traveller gave this story of the town boom in territorial days:

A gentleman recently returned from the West related that, in setting out early in the morning from the place he had passed the night, he consulted his map of the country, and finding that a very considerable town, called Vienna, occupied a point of his road but some twelve or fifteen miles off concluded to journey as far as that place before breakfast. Another equally expensive town, bearing a high sounding name, was laid down as a convenient distance for his afternoon stage, and there he proposed halting for the night. He continued to travel at a good round pace until the sun had risen high in the heavens, and until he computed that he had accomplished more than twice or thrice the distance which he proposed to himself in the outset. Still he saw no town before him, even of the humblest kind, much less such a magnificent one as his map prepared him to look for. At length, meeting a solitary wood-chopper emerging from the forest, he accosted him and inquired how far it was to Vienna. "Vienna", exclaimed the man, "why you passed it five and twenty miles back. Did you notice a stick of timber and a blazed tree beside the road? That was Vienna!" The dismayed traveller then inquired how far it was to the other place at which he designed passing the night. "Why you are right on that place now", returned the man; "it begins just on the other side of the ravine, and runs down to a clump of girdled trees which you will see about a mile farther on the road". "Are there no houses built?" faltered out the traveller. "Oh no houses whatsoever", returned the woodman, "they hewed

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Sheffield Ingalls, History of Atchison County, Kansas. Standard Publishing Company, Lawrence, Kansas, 1916, p. 87.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XV

View of lithograph of Sumner, Kansas
described by John J. Ingalls on page 60.

This is an example of the type of glorified
lithographs circulated in the East to attract
settlers to nonexistent towns in Kansas.



and hauled the logs for a blacksmith shop, but before they raised it, the town lots were disposed of in the Eastern states; and everything has been left, just as you see it, ever since.¹⁵

Fannie Cole, an early immigrant to Kansas, recalled her father's experience with one of these "paper towns".

We crossed the line from Missouri into Kansas at Westport late in May (1856) and journeyed to Lawrence, then only a village, where we remained for several days. My mother wished to remain there, but my father having somewhere gotten a pamphlet setting forth in flowing language the glories and advantages of a certain city named Whitfield, which was described as already possessing elegant residences, banks, schools, etc., while prospects of a university loomed up in the near future, decided not to choose a permanent home until he had visited it.

So we came to Topeka, another insignificant little village, and we wondered why anyone was foolish enough to try to build a town there, when the flourishing city of Whitfield was so near, for it was said to be on the magnificent hills across the Kansas River, a few miles north of Topeka. It was indeed a brilliant example of mendacious imagination of the above mentioned pamphlet, one J. B. Chapman, for when my father visited the city, the site of which he found with some difficulty, there were neither schools, churches, nor residences — not even one Indian wigwam — nothing but the vast rolling prairie.¹⁶

The pamphlet from which Miss Cole's father was reading was written by J. B. Chapman, author of History of Kansas and Emigrants Guide. In the preface he warned his readers:

Some writers, and the most we have observed on Kansas, write with such graphic and novel style that the reader going there would not suppose it to be the same country described. No man is considered a hero unless he can describe Kansas as a paradise.¹⁷ We profess to give its history as we saw it and understand it.

He then went on to describe Whitfield City, also a nonexistent paper city, a

¹⁵Dick, op. cit., p. 52.

¹⁶Fannie E. Cole, "Pioneer Life in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1912-1913, p. 354.

¹⁷Chapman J. Butler, History of Kansas and Emigrant's Guide. Teesdale, Elkins and Company, Akron, Ohio, 1855, p. 5.

town which he laid out and in which he was interested.

Whitfield City is located upon the bank of the Conda River (Soldier Creek), in one of the most central and commanding situations in the territory . . . No place in the territory can have more public access to roads . . . One mile from the town is one of the finest free stone quarries in the country. Rocks one hundred feet long could be split off from the beautiful mass . . . The roads designated . . . are the finest imaginable, rendering carriage traveling the most delightful in the world.

Whitfield City, a name of ancient remembrance among all Christian denominations, is laid out on a splendid and magnificent scale . . . It is laid out at right angles, with a number of large public squares for schools, churches, etc. . . On the east and west of the town plat and public squares are clumps of shade trees overshadowing two large and limpid springs of water . . . To the northwest you behold the smooth, serpentine windings of the Conda River, studded with a black-looking forest, shooting off to the north through the Pottawatomie lands, like the great hydra for which it was named, retreating from view in the high rolling prairie.

Whitfield City is laid out with a view of encouraging scientific, literary and religious institutions. Liberal donations are made for schoolhouses and churches, and the fine springs insure comfort and convenience . . . A railroad up the Kansas River will soon supersede every other thoroughfare.

A manual-labor college is about to be established at Whitfield City, under the patronage of donations from the town. The peculiar feature of the college is its manual labor department.¹⁸

The ease by which a town was formed is illustrated in this letter by

James G. Sands:

During 1855 and 1857 interests in towns, consisting of twelve lots, circulated as freely as "wild-cat" currency of that period. Lithographs, showing beautiful parks, with fountains playing, band stands, ornamental trees, and shrubbery surrounding magnificent public buildings, beckoned onward the "tenderfoot" to fortune who never had "speculation in his eye" before.

In 1857 a convivial party of gentlemen had gathered at the Eldridge House, Lawrence, when the suggestion was made

¹⁸Chapman, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-24.

that before they separated they lay out a town. In the party were several surveyors, who at once proceeded to make the proper drawings; a fine lithograph was procured and the blank space filled in, which completed the certificate of the birth of Oread.¹⁹

"One of the prettiast pictures that I saw when I came to Kansas", wrote Orson Kenth, an early settler, "was a lithograph of the town of Oread. It was nicely decorated and, on paper looked fine".²⁰ In actuality, all that ever existed at Oread were two or three log houses hastily thrown up to give the appearance of settlement.

In a letter to his father, John Ingalls wrote:

I have neglected to ask you in my previous letters if you were aware of the process by which these western towns are built and the modus operandi therein? It is interesting and a singular commentary on the audacious enterprise of the age. I sometimes wonder if the Plymouth Company of the Massachusetts Bay Company of two or three centuries ago were organized like these western corporations. We may become historical yet.²¹

While most of the towns "established" in Kansas never left the paper, many flourished for a brief spell and then decayed slowly. Others went quickly before the violent assaults of some successful rival. Exact figures over the number of towns that existed at one time but have since disappeared vary, but the digit always remains in the thousands.²²

Principal factors in the death of once-thriving towns were: the railway went through a rival town leaving the urban community high and dry; the trail

¹⁹Quoted in "Some Lost Towns of Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1912-1913, p. 426.

²⁰Ibid., p. 433.

²¹Connelley, ed., op. cit., p. 100.

²²Dick, op. cit., p. 54.

changed; the county seat with its accompanying interests were removed to a rival town; the stage line shifted leaving the town isolated.²³

Rome, in Ellis County, at one time had a population of over two thousand and was the metropolis of Western Kansas. Buffalo Bill was one of its chief supporters. But the luster of its name and the prowess of Buffalo Bill did not keep it from oblivion. Fort Hays was established nearby. The railroad built a heavy grade to lift the tracks from the floodwaters of a nearby creek and the town of Hays City was founded. Rome was cut off from the fort by the high railroad grade and Hays City gained the soldier trade. Within a year Rome faded away.²⁴

Indianola, about three miles north of Topeka on Soldier Creek, was an active place while Topeka was nonprogressive and inactive. Indianola was on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley government road and on the stage line. However, Topeka was able to secure the Union Pacific and when the trains started running the people simply took their town and moved to Topeka.²⁵

Juniata, a crossing on the Big Blue River at a point on the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road, was one of the earliest centers established in Kansas. At first it was only a ferry crossing but later a bridge was built. After a flood destroyed the bridge in 1855, the road was moved down stream

²³The Kansas State Historical Society in its Collections, Vol. 12, p. 472, lists over 2,400 lost cities in Kansas. F. P. Graham in An Introduction to City Planning in Kansas, Kansas State College Bulletin, Vol. 39, No. 9, p. 7, gives a figure of 5,000.

²⁴Ed., "Some Lost Towns of Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1912-1913, p. 438.

²⁵Ibid., p. 427.

closer to its mouth. This, together with the establishment of a rival city, Manhattan, completely wiped out the town.²⁶

One of the most interesting incidents in the history of town speculation is that of Pawnee. Pawnee was one of the earliest settlements in the territory. In 1855 it was one of the four incorporated towns in Kansas. In the early quest for town sites the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers was selected as an ideal location. But as the land was within the Fort Riley military reservation, nothing could be done unless the military authorities consented to exclude the area. On September 20, 1854, before the first survey of the fort had been completed, Major Montgomery, commanding officer of Fort Riley, granted authority for the site to be excluded. On September 27, the Pawnee Town Site Association was organized, composed of fourteen men including Major Montgomery and the Governor of the Territory, Andrew H. Reeder.

On April 16, 1855, Governor Reeder issued a proclamation calling the territorial legislature to meet in Pawnee on July 2. He had earlier informed the Pawnee Town Association that he would convene the session there if a suitable building were available.

When news of the governor's plans for Pawnee became known, immigration increased and a "boom" was soon underway. A letter written from Pawnee, February 19, and printed in the Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, March 24, 1855, stated:

The Pawnee Association have men at work on a warehouse to be built of stone. Two saw-mills are about being put into operation.

²⁶James C. Carey, "Juniata: Gate to Mid-Kansas". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, Topeka, 1954-1955, p. 84.

A hotel is in course of erection. It will be a mammoth structure, built of stone taken out of the hill right above it.

There is great demand for laborers here, and good wages will be paid them; but none ought to come at this time unless they have the means of accommodating themselves for some time in the way of bed-clothes, etc.

Most of the legislators who came to Pawnee were sympathetic to the pro-slavery cause. Many had been elected illegally with the aid of Missourians who had crossed the border to vote. Many of the members came prepared to camp out. They brought tents, food, cooking utensils, and an ample supply of whisky. They arrived on horseback and in wagons, and their clothing ranged from buckskins to frock coats. Some brought slaves with them to do their personal work and practically all of them were armed.

The primary objective of the legislature was to have the seat of the government moved to the eastern part of the territory. Since most of the members were from the border towns with interests in Missouri, they wanted the administrative center located where their strength lay. On July 4, the legislature passed a bill providing for the temporary establishment of the capitol at the Shawnee Methodist Mission in present Johnson County. It was vetoed by the governor on the grounds that the legislature was acting outside the power conferred upon it by Congress. However, both houses promptly passed the bill over his veto and then adjourned to meet at Shawnee Mission on July 16.

Through the efforts of the proslavery group, Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, had the boundaries of Fort Riley readjusted to include the site of Pawnee. United States troops arrived in September, 1855 with orders to see that the settlement was vacated. By October only a few families remained. These were forcibly evicted by the Army and those buildings still

standing were destroyed. The capitol was the only one left intact and it was put into use as an Army storehouse.²⁷

Many towns, such as Paris in Linn County, died after it lost the county seat to a rival contender. In many counties the story of county seat contests reads like something akin to civil war. Under the cover of darkness, armed parties from contending towns would often steal the county records from the courthouse. Returning to their town, they then proclaimed it the new county seat. Armed conflict was often the result.²⁸ It was not the glory of being the county seat that was being sought, but the economic gains brought. A trip to the county seat in the middle nineteenth century was an all day affair, and the supplies for the following weeks were purchased at this time. It is no wonder then that fierce jealousies existed between the budding towns for control of the county seat. It often meant the difference between survival and death for the community.

Among the most notable of the Kansas county seat wars were the following:²⁹

Topeka vs. Tecumseh (Shawnee County)

Ness City vs. Sidney (Ness County)

Anthony vs. Harper (Harper County)

Atwood vs. Blakeman, Herndon and Ludell (Rawlins County)

Cimarron vs. Ingalls (Gray County)

Crawford vs. Lyons (Rice County)

²⁷The First Capitol of Kansas. A pamphlet published by the State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.

²⁸Henry P. Mason, "County Seat Controversies in Southwestern Kansas". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2, Topeka, 1933, p. 45.

²⁹Charles C. Howes, This Place Called Kansas. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952, p. 56.

- Erie vs. Chamute (Neosho County)
- Goodland vs. Itaska, Eustis and Sherman Center (Sherman County)
- Gove vs. Grainfield (Gove County)
- Hugoton vs. Woodsdale (Stevens County)
- Lakin vs. Hartland (Kearny County)
- Leoti vs. Coronado (Wichita County)
- Liberal vs. Fargo Springs and Springfield (Seward County)
- Lyndon vs. Osage City, Superior, and Burlingame (Osage County)
- Howard, Boston, and Sedan vs. Moline, Peru, and Elk Falls (Howard County)
(resulting in the division of Howard County into Elk and Chautauqua Counties)
- Marysville vs. Frankfort, Blue Rapids, and Waterville (Marshall County)
- El Dorado vs. Augusta, Whitewater, Chelsea, and County Center (Butler County)
- Meade vs. Carthage (Meade County)
- Mound City vs. Linnville (Linn County)
- Ulysses vs. Appomattox (Grant County)
- Osborne vs. Tilden (now Bloomington), Arlington, and Ealey City
(Osborne County)
- Paola vs. Osawatimie (Miami County)
- Pratt vs. Iuka and Saratoga (Pratt County)
- St. John vs. Stafford (Stafford County)
- Syracuse vs. Coolidge and Kendall (Hamilton County)
- Sublette vs. Santa Fe and Satanta (Haskell County)
- Westmoreland vs. Louisville, St. George, Mount Union, and Wamego
(Pottawatomie County)
- Russell Springs vs. Oakley (Logan County)

Yates Center vs. Neosho Falls, Kalida, and Defiance (Woodson County)

Most of the county seat controversies were in Western Kansas and the bitterest occurred in the southwestern section. In fact, the bitterness of some of the county seat campaigns remains to this day. At the present time Russell Springs and Oakley, in Logan County, are engaged in a hot dispute over the location of the courthouse.³⁰ Thus the struggle for survival and dominance still plays an important role in the development of Kansas communities.

³⁰

The Kansas City Star, September 18, 1960.

CHAPTER IV
THE RIVER TOWNS:
THE FIRST LINE OF SETTLEMENT

It is only natural that the first towns to be established after the opening of Kansas Territory were built on the two principal rivers that flow from the state. The Kansas and Missouri Rivers were the main arteries of transportation and the lines of contact that connected Kansas with the civilized world. The struggle among the early towns to become the dominant business and cultural center of Kansas was based upon their river position and the fact that the communications system of the time was dependent upon water navigation. The orientation was towards the mouth of the Missouri-Mississippi; towards St. Louis and New Orleans.

No less than fourteen towns were located on the Missouri River in the territory's early days for there seemed to exist an idea that it was impossible for a city to grow without a river. Today, only three, Atchison, Leavenworth and Kansas City (Wyandotte) remain. These were settled largely by Missourians and became the headquarters for the proslavery element in the territory.

The New England Emigrant Aid Society sent groups up the Kansas River and established sites at Lawrence, Topeka, and Manhattan. Manhattan was too far removed to play a role in the political development of Kansas, and Topeka, though destined to become its capitol, also played only a minor part. It was Lawrence that captured the spirit of the times and became the unofficial capitol for abolitionism in the territory.

The first of the river towns to be organized was Leavenworth. On June 13, 1854, only two weeks after the signing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act,

a group of proslavery citizens from Weston, Missouri, formed a town association and laid out the site. As this was the first town organized by the proslavery element, it became the center from which all proslavery activity was directed in the territory.

Leavenworth City, as it was first known, was located just south of Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri River. This site was selected because the fort was well known throughout that section of the country and for that reason it was thought that settlers would locate there more readily. The name was taken from the fort for the same reason.

Major Hawn, assistant state geologist for the State of Missouri, was employed by the association to lay out the streets and alleys and stake off the lots and blocks.

In September, 1854, a month before the first public sale of lots, the Rev. C. B. Boynton visited Leavenworth and described it as follows:

About thirty miles above the mouth of the Kansas River we came in sight of an entirely new object, unknown to all former experience, a squatter city — Leavenworth City — three and a half miles below Fort Leavenworth on the west bank of the Missouri.

A squatter city has little resemblance to any other city; it belongs to a distinct genus of cities. This is the largest and most important one, the capitol, as many hope, of Kansas, and is therefore, worthy of description.

There was one steam engine, naked as when it was born, but at work sawing out its clothes. There were four tents, all on one street, a barrel of water or whiskey under a tree, and a pot on a pole over a fire under a tree, a type sticker had his case before him and was working on the first number of the newspaper, and within a frame without a board on the side or roof, was the editor's desk and sanctum. When we returned from the territory to Weston (Missouri), we saw the notice, stating that the editor had removed his office from under the elm tree to the corner of Broadway and the levee. This Broadway was at the time much broader than the streets of Babylon; for the exception of the fort, there was probably not a house on either side for thirty miles.¹

¹H. Miles Moore, Early History of Leavenworth City and County. Samuel Dodsworth Book Company, Leavenworth, Kansas, 1906, p. 31.

On October 9, 1854, the first public sale of lots took place. The survey had been completed, the streets downtown had been cleaned of rubbish and marked with their names. Those parallel with the river had been numbered as far out as Seventh Street. The cross streets were named after Indian tribes. The streets parallel with the river were sixty feet wide and the cross streets were sixty feet wide except Delaware, which was seventy feet. The lots were twenty-four feet by one hundred twenty-five feet, and there were thirty-two in a block. Through the center of each block ran an alley fourteen feet wide. Seven blocks were laid off next to the river as warehouse blocks, the fronts of which were 150 feet from the water's edge. All the space between Main and the river, except several half blocks, was donated for a levee and esplanade.²

Not long afterwards, an immigrant passing through wrote down his impressions of Leavenworth. They are as follows:

It was then only a few months old, a small scattered town of cottonwood shanties and saloons, of a few hundred inhabitants; but a splendid natural site for a large city, with a good landing, and the prestige of a large, old and important government fort adjoining, with its heavy patronage and supply trade over the great military roads to the interior forts and stations located all through the western plains and mountains. It was the universal opinion at that time by all men of judgement that the rising little town would make the largest city above St. Louis.³

Leavenworth grew rapidly during its early years. The economic base was its wholesale trade with the inland districts and the local business provided by the nearby garrison at Fort Leavenworth. Its levee was lined with huge

²Ibid., p. 46.

³William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 7, Topeka, 1901-1902, p. 327.

warehouses in which were received the goods and products brought by steam-boat up the Missouri from St. Louis. It was also the main stopover for travelers entering and leaving Kansas, since it was only a few miles by boat from Weston, Missouri, western terminus of a branch line of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. "It boasted three daily newspapers, several fine hotels, a public gymnasium and a college. And if it did not boast of, neither did it bother to conceal, a large number of saloons and brothels, with appropriate accompanying personnel".⁴ Leavenworth's great ambition was to become the leading city west of St. Louis.

In a letter home, Daniel R. Anthony in 1857 wrote:

Am well satisfied Leavenworth City is the most enterprising city in all Kansas—but lots are high, high, high, wouldn't touch them at half what is asked for them. Lots as far from the center of business as Adams Street and Chatham Street in Rochester (New York) they here ask thirty dollars per foot front 140 feet deep. Everybody is a land agent—and most everybody owns land. This town is very much like St. Paul, Minnesota T(erritory). It has from three thousand to five thousand people, mostly young men—and fast men . . . I think a good speculation can be made—money is worth from three to five per cent a month but it can be used to much better profit buying lands—at least so I think.

Taking the filthy condition of our city into consideration the people have been very healthy this summer. In grading the streets they have left whole blocks or squares without a place for the water to run off.⁵

In 1859, John Ingalls wrote: "Leavenworth is increasing with fabulous rapidity. It has already about 10,000 inhabitants⁶ and will undoubtedly be the great point in Kansas".⁷

⁴Albert E. Castel, A Frontier State at War: Kansas 1857-1862. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1958, p. 8.

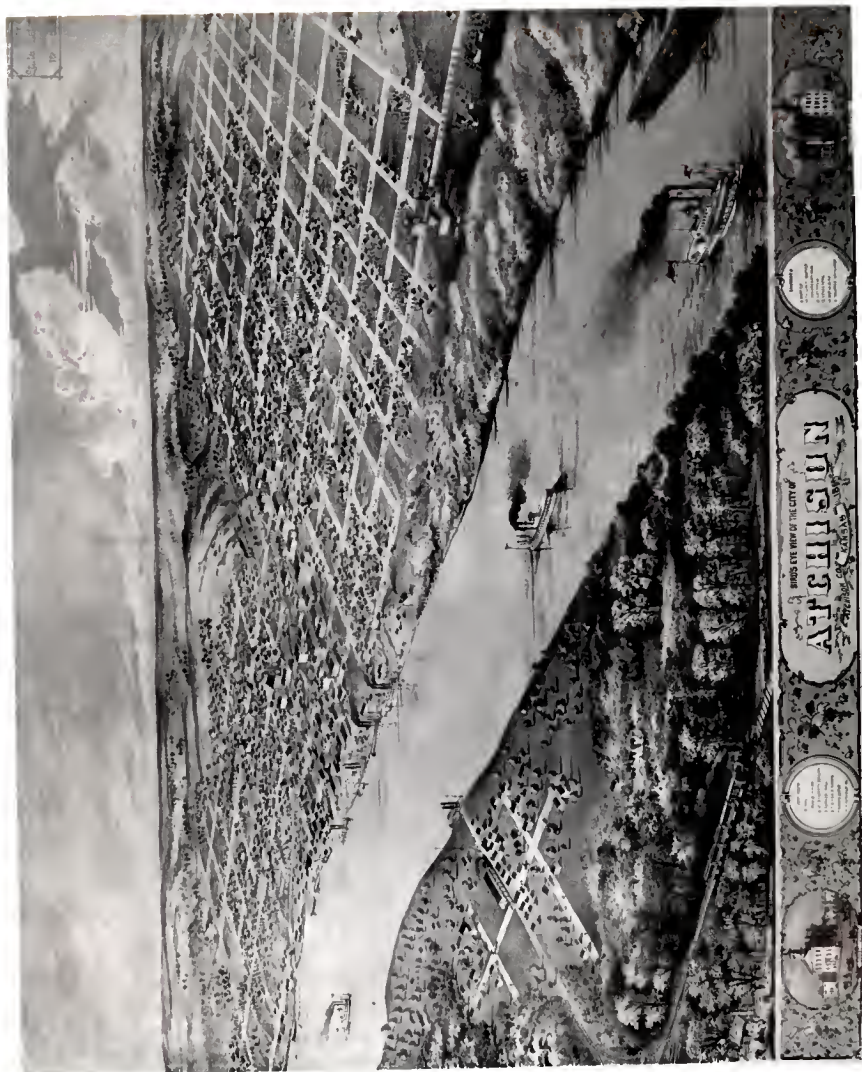
⁵Langsdorf, ed., "Letters of Daniel R. Anthony". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24, Topeka, 1958, p. 227.

⁶The population of Leavenworth in 1860, according to the United States Census, was 7,429.

⁷Connelley, ed., "Ingalls Letters". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 14, Topeka, 1915-1918, p. 94.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI

View of Atchison, Kansas in 1869.



Atchison, twenty-five miles up the Missouri, was Leavenworth's chief rival in control of the river and inland trade and in the political and economic domination of Northern Kansas. Atchison was the second town to be organized by the Weston Association in Kansas Territory. It was founded July 4, 1854, on the westernmost point on the great bend of the Missouri -- the place where men and goods transferred from steamboats for the journey across the plains either by ox or mule train, or by stagecoach. Senator Atchison and his associates held that it would be of great commercial advantage for a town to be located at this site and thought that they had located the natural gateway through which all the overland traffic to Utah, Oregon, and California would pass. Atchison was only a few miles from the military road which ran between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Kearney and the Far West. From the beginning the town vigorously advertised that immigrants and freighters could save days of travel by starting from Atchison.

Henry Kuh, a surveyor, surveyed the 480 acres which comprised the original townsite. Although Atchison was founded after Leavenworth, Atchison held the first public sale of town lots in Kansas Territory on September 21, 1854.

The sale was a gathering which had both political and business significance. Senator Atchison was there and made a speech in which he is quoted as having said "People of every quarter should be welcome to the Territory and treated with civility as long as they show themselves peaceable men".⁸

Someone in the crowd called out "What shall we do with those who run off with our negroes?" A voice in the crowd cried out "Hang them" and to this

⁸ Sheffield Ingalls, History of Atchison County, Kansas. Standard Publishing Company, Lawrence, Kansas, 1916, p. 66.

Senator Atchison replied "No, I would not hang them, but I would get them out of the Territory, get rid of them".⁹ One version of the speech was to the effect that Senator Atchison answered the question by saying "By God, sir, hang every abolitionist you find in the Territory".¹⁰

A small, but significant, Utah trade gave Atchison its first real growth in 1855, but this was nipped almost immediately by the political disturbances in the territory and by Atchison's reputation as the home of the most violent proslavery men. Forced to choose between business and political uniformity, the shareholders in the town company and the town's business men were quick to soft-pedal politics and in 1857 sold controlling interest in the town, as well as its newspaper, to a group represented by S. C. Pomeroy, the agent of the New England Aid Company.¹¹ Atchison was politically divided, but both groups were united in concentration on the business of promoting the town and increasing the value of their real estate. Again the economic factors proved stronger than the political issues of slavery.

As in all early Kansas towns, a great effort was made through the medium of the printed word to attract settlers to within its boundaries. A circular which was widely scattered told the advantages of Atchison in the following terms:

To the public, generally, but particularly to those persons living north of the Kansas River, in Kansas Territory:

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Walker D. Wyman, "Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1942, p. 297.

It is well known to many, and should be to all interested, that the town of Atchison is nearer to most persons living north of the Kansas River, than any other point on the Missouri River. The country, too, south of the Kansas River above Leocompton, is also as near Atchison as any other Missouri River town. The roads to Atchison in every direction are very fine, and always in good repair for wagon and other modes of travel.

The country opposite Atchison is not excelled by a section of Missouri, it being portions of Buchanan and Platte Counties, in a high state of cultivation, and at a considerable distance from any important town in Missouri, making grain, fruit, provisions and all kinds of marketing easily procured at fair prices; a matter of no small consideration to settlers in a new country.¹²

Atchison was supremely confident of the future, despite the fact that its streets were ungraded, crooked, and covered with stumps and underbrush. Even one of its leading citizens referred to it as a "hog-pen".¹³

At the first meeting of the city council in March 1858, an ordinance was adopted providing for a special election for the purpose of submitting a proposition to take \$100,000 worth of stock in a proposed railroad from St. Joseph, Missouri to some point opposite Atchison on the Missouri River. The election was held and the stock subscribed for.¹⁴

In spite of the freedom of those days, the council ordered saloons to be closed on Sunday and stringent regulations were passed in connection with the liquor traffic. The first financial statement of the city was read, and showed a general deficit of over nine thousand dollars. The fact that the mayor had strongly urged the importance of grading and improving the streets of the city possibly accounts for the indebtedness of the city at so early

¹²Ingalls, op. cit., p. 68.

¹³Castel, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁴Peter Beckman, "Atchison's First Railroad". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1954, p. 153.

a date. But in spite of the efforts of the city fathers, Atchison remained far from being a source of tidiness as testified to by this traveler:

It was in November, 1858, that I first set foot on the levee in Atchison. At that time the place was a very small town. As I walked about the town I remember of having seen but four brick buildings on Commercial Street. West of Sixth Street there were but a few scattered dwellings and perhaps a dozen business houses and shops. The road along Commercial Street, west of Sixth was crooked, for it had not been graded and the streets were full of stumps and remnants of thick growth of underbrush that had previously been cut. A narrow, rickety bridge was spanning White Clay Creek where that stream crosses Commercial Street at Seventh Street. Between Sixth and Seventh, north of Commercial, there was a frog pond occupying most of the block, where the boys pulled dog-grass in high water and where both boys and girls skated in winter.¹⁵

At the time other river towns were just getting the freighting fever, Atchison had a great share of it, and apparently had the Utah trade monopolized. At that time the Mormon trade was regarded as the greatest of all western markets. The Missouri River town that could keep it was certain of recognition when the railroads were built west.¹⁶

Although Atchison profited somewhat by the Denver and Indian trade, the greatest increase came from the Mormon valley. The city council, grasping fully the potential future of Atchison, ordered property owners on Commercial Street at the levee to lay a brick or stone pavement.

No one could question the commercial importance of Atchison during the spring of 1860, because no other city in the great Missouri Valley enjoyed such advantages in the way of overland transportation. It was nothing unusual to see two or three steamboats lying at the levee discharging freight, and as many more on the river in sight, either above or below the city.

¹⁵F. A. Root and W. E. Connelley, The Overland Stage to California.
Topeka, 1901.

¹⁶Wyman, op. cit., p. 305.

It was no uncommon thing, during the spring of 1860, to see great quantities of freight, in the shape of thousands of wagons, and ox-yokes, mining machinery, boilers, and other material, and the provisions necessary to supply the thousands of people then flocking to the great West.¹⁷

On his trip through Kansas, Horace Greeley wrote:

Atchison gives me my first foothold in Kansas. It was long a Border-Ruffian nest, but has shared the fortunes of many such in being mainly bought out by Free State men, who now rule, and for the most part own it. For the last year, its growth has been quite rapid; of its four or five hundred dwellings, I think two-thirds have been built within that period. The Missouri at this point runs further to the west than elsewhere in Kansas; its citizens tell me that the great roads westward to Utah, etc., pass within a few miles of Atchison when thrice as far from the respective starting points. . . . I have long been looking for the West, and here it is at last.¹⁸

The discovery of gold in the Rocky Mountain region in 1857 increased the migration from the east and raised the Missouri River towns to the status of outfitting points. There was intense rivalry among the river towns for this preeminence. The newspapers of the various towns vied with each other to induce the overland traveler to start from their city.

The gold rush made the Missouri River towns in reality mining towns. They were crossroad centers; "the streets, lands, and byways were filled with a multitude of prairie schooners. The towns presented a busy scene with their rumbling wagons, bellowing oxen, braying mules, cracking whips, and busy men".¹⁹

The Missouri River cities' chief rival for political and cultural domination of the state was Lawrence. Located on the Kansas River thirty-five

¹⁷Wyman, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

¹⁸Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey*. C. M. Saxton, Barker and Company, New York, 1860, p. 19.

¹⁹Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier*. Johnsen Publishing Co., Lincoln, 1954, p. 69.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVII

View of Atchison, Kansas in 1880.



miles from Leavenworth and about forty miles from the Missouri line, it was founded in September, 1854. It was the first town established by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. As early as June 1854, the company had sent Dr. Charles Robinson, later first Governor of Kansas, and Charles H. Branscome to explore the territory and select a site for a colony. While these two men were exploring the region, the company was busy organizing the first party of emigrants.

The first group left Boston July 17, 1854 with a party of twenty-nine persons. On August 1, they arrived at the site which later became Lawrence. A second group of one-hundred and fourteen arrived from Boston on September 9.

The survey of the town began September 25, and the streets and lots were established. The name of the town had not been determined. It had been called Wakarusa, Yankee Town and New Boston. It was finally decided to name the town Lawrence after Amos A. Lawrence, treasurer of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and a liberal contributor to its funds. After the founding of the town, Amos Lawrence gave twelve thousand dollars to help found a college. This became part of the endowment which established the University of Kansas.

A shortage of wood in the early days in Lawrence made construction difficult, so many temporary structures were erected to house the incoming emigrants from the east. In a book written at the time by Charles E. Boyington of Cincinnati, Lawrence is described as a city of tents: "A few tents were pitched on high ground overlooking the Kansas and Wakarusa Valleys; others were scattered over the level bottomlands below, but not a dwelling besides could be seen. It was a city of tents alone".²⁰ Another

²⁰ Richard Cordley, A History of Lawrence, Kansas. Lawrence Journal Press, Lawrence, Kansas, 1895, p. 12.

writer had this to say:

We passed through the town site of Lawrence, which had recently been located . . . and selected by a party of free state men as the site for a future city. Everything was in very crude condition. No permanent houses had been erected, and the people were living in shacks and tents.²¹

The lack of lumber made construction difficult and a strange variety of structures appeared.

Our city presents quite a gothic appearance in the style of its residences. Besides the tents, there are a number of houses of the same form, varying in size, covered with boards, as they are called here, that is shingles, three to three and a half feet long, unshaved; then we have others of the same tent form, made of poles set in the ground, the tops meeting overhead and ribs nailed on horizontally, in the same manner as these covered with boards, and then thatched with prairie grass; then again we have some in the usual form of a house, thatched all over, with cotton cloth, door and window, or without window, as the door permits the admission of sufficient light for ordinary purposes to the single-storied, single-roomed edifice . . . There are some log houses roofed with cotton cloth, tarred and sprinkled with sand; and others again in the usual house form covered with the shingles or boards of which I spoke, put on in the usual form of siding. On the gothic houses they are put on "up and down".²²

All this variety illustrates the old adage that "Necessity is the mother of Invention". The only sawed board door in the city is in an out-house. We have as yet no lumber. Our saw-mill is not yet in operation, having been delayed by unforeseen difficulties . . . This delay has been the occasion of a very great deal of inconvenience and suffering on the part of the settlers.

By 1859 Lawrence was firmly established as attested to in a letter written by John Ingalls to his father:

²¹James R. McClure, "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855", Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1903-1904, p. 227.

²²James C. Malin, "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, Topeka, 1954-1955, p. 34-49.

fashion in the audience as would be seen in an eastern city.

There are some good residences in the town, some fair business blocks, and the best hotel west of the Ohio. It is called the Eldridge House, after its proprietor, and was opened on Friday evening by a New Year's inauguration ball. It is built of brick, with all the appointments of a first-class house, and cost \$75,000. It seems to me that it must prove a ruinous speculation, but everything in Kansas is a run for luck.²³

In his trip through Kansas, Horace Greeley wrote:

I should say Lawrence has now five hundred dwellings and perhaps five thousand inhabitants; and these figures are more likely to be over than under the mark. She has a magnificent hotel (the Eldridge House) — the best, I hear, between the Missouri and the Sacramento — far better, I fear, than its patronage will justify — though it has nearly all that Lawrence can give. She is to have a great University, for which a part of the funds are already provided; but I trust it will be located some distance away, so as to give scope for a Model Farm, and for a perfect development of the education of the brain and the hands together . . . I trust the establishment of the Lawrence University will not be unduly hurried, but that it will be, whenever it does open its doors to students, an institution worthy of its name.²⁴

From the very beginning, Lawrence had been the headquarters for the abolitionists in the territory and became known as the "Free State Fortress." Politically, the quality of its population gave Lawrence a role in Kansas affairs greatly disproportionate to its size, for at one time or another practically all the prominent free state leaders had resided there. Being the center of "Kansas abolitionism", Lawrence was the target of proslavery action within the territory. During 1855-1856 the town was marched on three times by proslavery groups from Missouri and on one of these occasions was sacked. During the Civil War, in 1863, William C. Quantrill led a party of

²³Connelley. op. cit., p. 94.

²⁴Greeley. op. cit., pp. 43-44.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVIII

Lithograph of Lawrence, Kansas in 1858,
five years before the Quantrill raid.



VIEW OF LAWRENCE

Looking South West
N. Y. 1874



Printed by J. H. R. Co. at the
New York City, N. Y.
1874

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX

View of Lawrence, Kansas in 1880.



guerrillas from Missouri and almost totally destroyed the town. At that time Lawrence was the second largest city in the state.

No matter how shabby and rude these three early Kansas cities — Leavenworth, Atchison, and Lawrence — were, they all cherished high hopes of future growth and prosperity. The economic rivalries and aspirations provided much of the substance of Kansas politics, and had profound bearing upon the history of the state.

Other river cities of note, none having more than several hundred residents, were Wyandotte, Leecompton, Topeka, Manhattan, Pawnee, and Junction City.

Wyandotte (Kansas City), then as now overshadowed by Kansas City across the river, was established in the spring of 1857. The site was the location of the Wyandotte reservation. The Wyandotte nation came there from Ohio in 1842 under the terms of the removal policy. They had been under the influence of missionaries while in Ohio, and by the time they reached Kansas were highly civilized. There they built log cabins and established a village with schools, churches, and a system of government. In 1855 they received citizenship in the United States and gained title to their land. Many remained, but the majority sold their lands to white settlers and went to Indian Territory.²⁵

When a party arrived in Kansas City, Missouri, from the East, in search of a town site, they chose the Wyandotte land at the junction of the Kansas-Missouri Rivers. They figured that the great cities on the American continent

²⁵Ed., Wyandotte County and Kansas City. Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago, 1890, pp. 351-386.

would develop on the west side of the water courses.

A town company was organized and a committee appointed to buy the land from the Wyandottes. John H. Miller, a surveyor, was hired to lay out the site, and thus the town of Wyandotte was born. An irregular strip along the Missouri River was reserved for a public levee. From this, four avenues, each one-hundred feet wide, were laid out. On March 8, 1857, the public sale of lots was held.

In later years a number of other towns were laid out close to Wyandotte; Kansas City in 1868, and Armourdale and Argentine in 1880.

In 1875, a movement of the citizens of Kansas for building in their own state a great city, or an "emporium of commerce and industry" was inaugurated. On three different occasions the State of Kansas attempted to annex Kansas City, Missouri to Kansas. This scheme even had the apparent approval of the citizens of that city, but the plot failed to materialize.²⁶

In September of 1875 a call was issued in the papers for a mass meeting. It read as follows:

To the People of Kansas: The citizens of Wyandotte County mindful of the fact that the increasing commerce of the Missouri valley must concentrate somewhere on the bank of our river for general exchange, and build up a great emporium at the point where such general exchange will be made, believe that the necessities of trade and the laws of nature, facts not to be denied, have fixed that point at the mouth of the Kansas River. This commerce, for the most part, is the product of the industry, the intelligence and the resources of Kansas; the city which is its offspring, they believe, should be on Kansas soil, subject to her laws and tributary to her wealth. They believe that city may be planted by wise and judicious action on the part of the people within the borders of their state. They believe in generous interchange of sentiment on the spot by citizens of Kansas, with their

²⁶Henry C. Haskell, Jr. and Richard B. Fowler, City of the Future. Frank Glenn Publishing Co., Kansas City, Missouri, 1950, p. 87.

fellow-citizens who reside at the mouth of the Kansas River, will convince the most skeptical and win him to their belief as to where that great mart shall be seated. Therefore, in no spirit of rivalry, as citizens of Kansas, solicitous of her welfare, they cordially invite as many of the people of their state as can attend to a public meeting, to be held at Wyandotte on Thursday, September 23, 1875, in the evening to consider the subject.²⁷

In spite of her noble efforts, Wyandotte was not able to replace Kansas City, Missouri as the metropolis of the Missouri valley. Eleven years later, after many bitter battles, Governor John A. Martin issued a proclamation that consolidated Wyandotte, Kansas City and Armourdale into one city to be known as Kansas City, Kansas. Later, Argentine, Quindaro and Rosedale joined the complex to form the state's second largest metropolitan area.

Up the Kansas, between Wyandotte and Lawrence, was located Leecompton. Founded in 1855, it was selected as the permanent capital of Kansas by the Territory legislature. However, as the legislature was composed mainly of proslavery men, allegedly elected through fraudulent voting, the free-state men refused to recognize its validity and met in Lawrence. As the free-staters gained control of the territory, Leecompton lost its status and sank into oblivion.²⁸

Approximately thirty miles up the Kansas River from Lawrence was situated Topeka. Founded by Cyrus K. Holliday, founder of the Santa Fe Railroad, and Dr. Charles Robinson, first governor of Kansas, in October 1854, it was the second city to be organized by the New England Emigrant Aid Society.

²⁷Perl Morgan, History of Wyandotte County, Vol. I. Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, 1911, p. 301.

²⁸Ely Moore, Jr., "The Story of Leecompton", Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1909-1910, p. 436.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX

Wyandotte as it appeared in 1869.

The section shown here now comprises
the central business district of
Kansas City, Kansas.

As president of the Topeka Town Association, Cyrus K. Holliday's first task was to make the survey for the city. Available for the purpose were only the crudest of instruments, but these were all that were needed, for in platting the lay of the land was followed.

The main artery, Kansas Avenue, was made to follow the gentle rise of the ridge of the hill itself, and each parallel or intersection street to lie only where the grade was easy and the drainage free. Instead of drawing the streets due north to south and east to west to accord with the federal division of the land into mile-square sections, Holliday traced the longitudinal axis with a deviation of $18^{\circ} 40'$ east of true north.²⁹ When a year later the federal survey came to be made, the professional surveyors disclosed triumphantly what they declared had been a serious error in the original plan. But it was too late to start over then since many settlers had arrived and many buildings had been erected. The Holliday design remained the basis for all real estate developments in the original town and even the first additions.

However, convenient for the surveyors the federal practice might have been, Holliday was more concerned with the immediate realities of the site than with the mechanical accuracy of a government plat. The practical consequences of Holliday's ingenuity account for two of the city's foremost distinctions today -- its excellent drainage and its favorable orientation.

Holliday's plan provided for two reservations of twenty acres each to be used as public gardens. There is no question of the original purpose of

²⁹Wallace S. Baldinger, "The Amateur Plans a City". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, Topeka, 1943, p. 7.

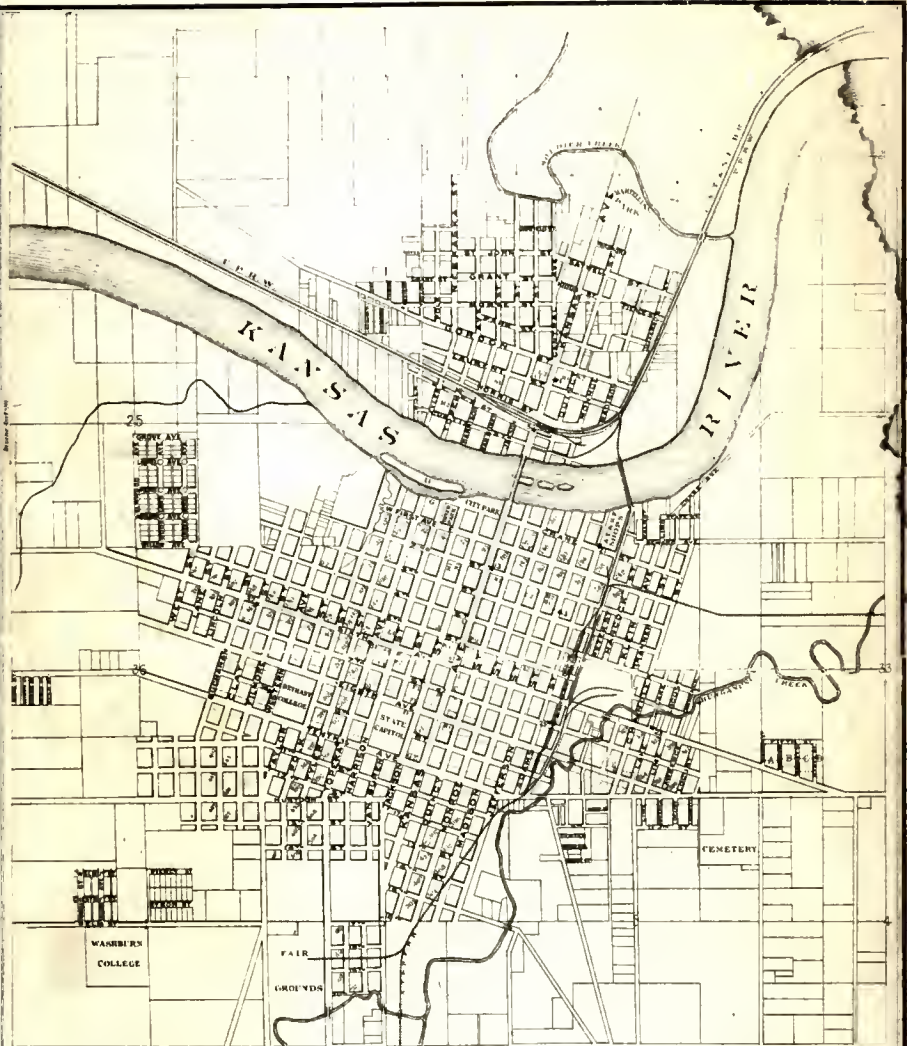
EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII

Lithograph of Topeka, Kansas as it
appeared in 1880.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXII

Plat of Topeka, Kansas showing the city as originally platted with a deviation of 18 degrees east of true north and the later additions based on a true-north-south grid system.



CHURCHES

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| A1 First Methodist Episcopal | L1 Lutheran |
| B1 St. Nicholas | M1 Lutheran |
| C1 First Congregational | N1 United Baptist |
| D1 United Presbyterian | O1 Mission |
| E1 First Baptist | P1 United Baptist |
| F1 Church of the Disciples | Q1 Methodist N.E. |
| G1 First Baptist | R1 Presbyterian |
| H1 First Presbyterian | S1 General M.E. |
| K1 German M.E. | T1 Congregational |

NEEDHAM'S POCKET MAP
OF THE
CITY OF TOPEKA
AND SUBURBS.

PUBLISHED BY H. A. NEEDHAM, TOPEKA, KANSAS
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SCHOOLS

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|
| A2 Lincoln | B2 Madison | C2 Monroe |
| D2 Tanager | E2 Clay | F2 Harrison |
| G2 Buchanan | H2 Polk | J2 Adams |
| K2 Quincy | L2 Douglas | M2 Lane |

MINNELLIAN SCHOOL
A. Library, Court House and Jail, B. City Office, and Fire Department
C. Public Library, D. Public Library Building
E. A. & N. Co. General Store, F. Gas Works
G. Water Works, H. Main Street, I. Water Works, J. Supply Store
K. City Prison
L. Free Station, No. 1
M. Free Station, No. 2
N. Free Station, No. 3
O. Free Station, No. 4
P. Free Station, No. 5
Q. Free Station, No. 6
R. Free Station, No. 7
S. Free Station, No. 8
T. Free Station, No. 9
U. Free Station, No. 10
V. Free Station, No. 11
W. Free Station, No. 12
X. Free Station, No. 13
Y. Free Station, No. 14
Z. Free Station, No. 15

With Compliments of the Publisher

these tracts, since Holliday planned that they should be planted with shade trees and kept open for the free use of the community.

The railroad tracks were not laid through town, but along its eastern limits, where the prevailing winds would tend to carry the noise and smoke away from the town. The shops and yards were located at the northeast corner of the city, on the edge of the Kansas River well below the city, where the current of the water would carry waste away from the town.

As early as 1855 Topeka was selected as the capital by the free-staters. The Wyandotte convention temporarily located the state capitol there, but provided for authorization by a vote of the people. In 1861, Topeka was selected by popular vote to be the capital city, and the legislature of 1862 adopted a resolution accepting from the City of Topeka twenty acres on which to build the state-house.³⁰

In March 1855, Isaac T. Goodnow, leader of a group which had been sent as emissaries of the New England Emigrant Aid Society to establish a town and open a school in the middle of Kansas, arrived at the present site of Manhattan. He found two other "settlements" on the site; Canton, which consisted of a dugout built at the base of the hill, and Polistra -- one log cabin. A decision was reached to consolidate and form one company. On April 4, 1855, this was accomplished and the name of Boston was selected for the townsite.

In June, 1855, the river boat Hartford struck a sandbar near the mouth of the Big Blue River. Its passengers, members of the Cincinnati and Kansas

³⁰Franklin G. Adams, "The Capitals of Kansas", Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1903-1904, p. 349.

Land Company, were bound for the Smoky Hill and Republican River junction to establish a settlement. The settlers of Boston did not want another town so close, and began negotiations to persuade the Hartford passengers to join with them. The result was that the Ohio group agreed to abandon the site upstream and accept the Boston offer for half the townsite and a re-naming of the community. A clause in the Ohio company's constitution required that the town where they settled be called Manhattan.³¹ The original settlers of Manhattan were educated men whose original scheme anticipated a finished community; schools, churches, college, libraries, and literary societies. "Manhattan bore the image and superscription of New England . . . where the social, intellectual, and moral needs of the people were anticipated".³²

At the head of the Kansas, where the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers meet, was projected the town of Millard City. An early promotion pamphlet stated:

Millard City is situated upon a gentle slope, in the fork of the Kansas River, near Fort Riley, Kansas. It is at the head of navigation on the military road to Santa Fe, and the emigrant road to California, Salt Lake, and Oregon. The railroads are already projected to this point and will soon be built. Fine stone quarries in the vicinity and every facility for building.

The Cincinnati and Kansas Manufacturing Company have made arrangements for the construction of manufacturing establishments upon their town site (Millard City) and will encourage mechanics of all kinds. The inducements offered to settlers at this point are equal, if not superior, to any in the West.³³

³¹Carolyn Jones, The First One Hundred Years, A History of the City of Manhattan, 1855-1955. Manhattan Centennial, Inc., Manhattan, 1955.

³²Ibid.

³³Woodbury F. Pride, The History of Fort Riley. Fort Riley Press, Fort Riley, Kansas, 1926, p. 117.

Millard City was the project of Captain Millard, the captain of the riverboat Hartford. After his boat became stuck at the mouth of the Big Blue and his passengers joined forces with the members of the Boston enterprise to form Manhattan, he decided to carry out the originally planned venture himself. However, his scheme ended in failure.

In the summer of 1857 another company attempted to locate the town of Humboldt on the abandoned site of Millard City, but this ended in failure also.

In the fall of 1857 the Junction City Town Company was organized. The survey of the townsite was begun in the latter part of December and finished in the summer of 1858.

After the town was platted, a hotel and saloon were established, "and the rest was expected to follow by a process of natural evolution. The social, intellectual and moral needs of the people were left to call into existence the means for their own satisfaction. The city bore the image and superscription of the frontier".³⁴

During the three years following the opening of Kansas Territory, everything boomed. The largest proportion of immigrants were more interested in acquiring land than in farming it. Thousands of newcomers hopped aboard the real estate merry-go-round. Land warrants were used in lieu of currency, and huge fortunes accumulated — on paper. Then came the Panic of 1857. Creditors called for their debts and insisted that they be paid in hard cash. President Buchanan vetoed the Homestead Act and refused to postpone the sale of public lands. This was a crushing blow to the Kansas pre-emptors, for

³⁴Jones, op. cit.

large numbers of them had proceeded on the assumption that this sale would not take place on the date scheduled. Consequently they found it extremely difficult to meet the government price, and many lost their claims.³⁵

Following close upon the collapse of the land boom was a severe and prolonged drought. It began in the autumn of 1859, after building up since 1854.³⁶

"Thirty thousand settlers had abandoned the state and returned east, 30,000 others lived in destitution so great that although they wanted to leave they were unable to do so".³⁷ Currency was scarce and what there was of it was almost worthless, having been issued by "wildcat" banks in Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri. Many men were going about attired in blue jeans or even converted gunny sacks.³⁸

Senator John Green of Missouri contended prior to Kansas' admission that she was doomed to be "weak, puerile, sickly, in debt, and at no time capable of sustaining herself".³⁹

Exaggerated accounts of the drought and conditions in Kansas were published in Eastern newspapers. As a result of this, emigration dwindled to almost nothing and the wheels of progress came to a rapid halt.⁴⁰

³⁵Castel, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 13.

³⁸Connelley, ed., op. cit., p. 122.

³⁹Leverett W. Spring, Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, New York, 1907, p. 265.

⁴⁰Castel, op. cit., p. 15.

Such then was Kansas when, upon the eve of the Civil War, it entered the Union.

Kansas, during the Civil War, experienced no actual battles. The only warfare consisted of border skirmishes between the Missourians and Jayhawkers. Lane led attacks against Missouri towns across the border and Quantrill retaliated by sacking Lawrence, but the state was far removed from the actual fighting of the war.

Economically, Kansas prospered during the Civil War. The severe drought came to an end in 1861, and the next year surplus crops were harvested. Heavy military buying provided a ready and profitable market for this surplus and eventually absorbed nearly all the agricultural output of the state.

The Missouri River towns flourished from the overland trade to the Far West during this period, as well as from the military units passing through.

A great influx of refugees, both Negro and white, came into the state.

Only a few professional abolitionists were prepared to accord the Negro refugees equal rights and treatment. Most Kansans considered the Negro to be "greatly inferior to the white man" and regarded him with a mixture of contemptuous amusement and distrustful fear.⁴¹

The era which began in 1854 with the fateful Kansas-Nebraska Bill was terminated in 1865 by the close of the Civil War. It was, from the standpoint of primary interest, essentially economic-political in character. Henceforth the major concern of Kansans -- and the main theme of their history -- was economic only. Preston Plumb of Emporia expressed the spirit of his fellow Kansans as they moved into the new era. Upon returning home

⁴¹Ibid., p. 210.

from the Army in 1865, he wrote:

There is going to be a chance to make some money in the next five or ten years which neither of us may ever have again. I have determined to avail myself of it. I shall devote all my energy and powers to securing my share of it. We have had a good time as boys . . . now we are men.⁴²

Kansas had entered the Gilded Age.

⁴²Ibid., p. 232.

CHAPTER V

MIGRATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS
TO KANSAS AND THEIR EFFECT ON SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Following the Civil War there were two periods of mass migration to Kansas. The first was caused by the release of large numbers of men from military service and the enactment of the Homestead Act. The Homestead Act was passed in 1862 and gave free land in the amount of 160 acres to any head of a family who resided on the plot for five years.¹ Men newly freed from military life and free land gave rise to a rush for public domain which lasted until the panic of 1873.² During the next five years there was little movement of population into the state. However, in 1878, a new cycle of migration began which lasted until 1886. It was during this period that the greatest number settled in Kansas, largely from foreign lands. In 1880 the population of Kansas was 996,096, but by 1887 it had reached 1,518,552--an increase of 552,456 in seven years.³

Of the various factors which caused the great rush of settlement in the eighties, the first in importance was probably the natural land hunger of the people. The people of the eastern states longed to exploit the new western domain, and to take advantage of their rights as citizens to file on government land.

A second factor was the railroad. The railroads had been given free land by the government for constructing routes in the West and were anxious to con-

¹Fred W. Wellborn, The Growth of American Nationality, 1492-1865. The MacMillan Company, New York, 1943, p. 891.

²Everette Dick, The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890. Johnsen Publishing Company, Lincoln, 1954, p. 185.

³Ibid.

vert the land into cash. They organized elaborate campaigns to lure customers into Kansas to buy railroad lands. In the long run the railroads didn't care if the immigrant bought railroad land or took free land from the government. As long as people poured into Kansas future business was being created by potential customers.

A third factor was the immigration activities of the local governments. The state had an immigration board to promote settlement, as did many counties, cities, and towns. Each organization presented claims that their particular localities were better than others for settlement.⁴

As a result of the work of the railroads and organized committees in advertising the land, numerous colonies were organized and immigrants came in bodies to the state. The competition between the railroads for settlers was keen. Each sent agents to Europe to agitate for migration to the New World. They presented lithographed pictures, maps, flowery descriptions, and glowing accounts of the land -- the same methods employed by the land speculators upon the opening of the territory -- in an effort to obtain settlers.

One of the largest foreign groups to come from Europe was a Mennonite colony of German origin which settled in Marion, McPherson, Reno, Harvey, Butler and Barton Counties.⁵ This group of German Mennonites had left Germany over a hundred years before to escape religious persecution. They had

⁴Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism". Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 10, p. 410.

⁵Kendall Bailes, "The Mennonites Come to Kansas." American Heritage Vol. 10, No. 5, p. 30.

gone to Russia at the invitation of Catherine the Great to settle in the Ukraine and develop its vast region of unbroken prairie. In exchange they received free land, religious toleration, and exemption from taxes and military services.⁶ In 1870, Alexander II canceled the pledge of Catherine and announced that the Mennonites must conform to Russian laws in respect to religion, taxation, and military conscription.

To Cornelius Jansen the only answer to the new Russian policy was immigration. He wrote to Mennonites who had immigrated from Holland and Germany to Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century. He read articles by a German immigrant, C. B. Schmidh, who was selling farm machinery in Lawrence, and who corresponded with German newspapers, lauding the opportunities in Kansas.

The more Jansen learned about America the more enthusiastic he became. He traveled across South Russia, speaking at villages and encouraging migration to America. In 1873 an official delegation of Mennonite leaders toured the United States and Canada to seek suitable lands.

It was during this time that the railroads were seeking settlers for their lands. Learning that Schmidh in Lawrence had corresponded with the Mennonites in Russia, the Santa Fe hired him as its commissioner of immigration and it was through him that the bulk of Mennonites' migration was directed to Kansas.⁷ The state joined with the Santa Fe in making Kansas attractive to Mennonite migration. In 1874 the state law was amended to

⁶Ibid.

⁷C. B. Schmidh, "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections. Vol. 9, Topeka, 1906, p. 488.

free from military service those who belonged to non-resistance groups.⁸ In April, 1874, a bill was introduced in the United States Senate to reserve large areas of public land for them, but after considerable debate the bill was tabled.⁹

By August of 1874, the first families had arrived and purchased land in Central Kansas from the Santa Fe. Since these people had been in the habit of living in villages in Russia, they tried to carry out the old plan in their new home. One such interesting experiment occurred at Peabody, Kansas. Twenty-four families founded "Guadenau" -- Meadow of Grace.

Five sections were purchased and the village was located in the center of this block of territory. The other sections were arranged in such a manner as to edge with the center section. Every other section was government land. The five sections purchased were railroad land. A street was laid out through the middle of the center section. The variety of types of houses indicated the financial ability of the owner. Some were sod, some frame, and some were sod with a wooden roof.¹⁰

By October the Mennonites had purchased 100,000 acres from the railroad and were moving into the state. All over South-Central Kansas the prairie became alive with activity as the Mennonites took the virgin Kansas soil to make it into their home and economy.

In the summer of 1875, Schmidt invited Noble Prentiss of the Topeka Commonwealth to accompany him on a tour of the new Mennonite settlements. After visiting several farms they came to Guadenau, settled the year before, and "a single row of houses, constructed in a hodgepodge of architectural

⁸Dick, op. cit., p. 189.

⁹Bailes, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁰Dick, op. cit., p. 190.

styles¹¹ greeted their eyes. A Mennonite showed them through his newly constructed red and green frame home, which, in the Russian style, was actually house, stable, and grainery, all under one roof.

After leaving the village they rode to the top of a ridge and "looked back into the wide sunlit valley with the cornfields and the long row of grass thatched houses, and thought of the coming day when solid farm houses and great barns and waving orchards would line the long village street".¹²

In 1882, when the Mennonite immigration was nearly at an end, Prentis decided to make another tour of the Kansas settlements to see what progress had been made since he had last visited them. "I left bare prairie", he wrote, "and I returned to find a score of miniature forests in sight from any point of view".¹³ There were "hedges, orchards, lands, and alleys of trees -- trees in lines, trees in groups, and trees all alone".¹⁴ The serenity of the land was reflected in the names that marked each group of farms as a distinct settlement. There was Blumenfeld (Flower Field), Hoffmungstal (Vale of Brothers), Frunfeld (Green Field), Emmatal (Emma Vale); names which expressed the quiet nature of the people.

From an economical standpoint, the Mennonites have exerted a tremendous influence upon Kansas. When they came from Russia they brought with them a variety of wheat that grew in the Ukraine -- Turkey Red. It flourished on the Kansas plains and year after year the harvests of Turkey Red increased.

¹¹Bailes, op. cit., p. 103.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

Today Kansas is the nation's largest producer of wheat, due in great measure to the efforts of the German Mennonites from Russia.

The Scandinavian element which settled in Kansas is another group that exerted great influence on the development of community patterns. The form of Swedish settlement in Kansas followed the suggestion that it be made on a group basis. The initiative was taken by Dr. C. H. Gran,¹⁵ a physician of Andover, Illinois, who in 1857, announced plans for a Scandinavian colony in Kansas. However, the attempt in the spring of 1858 to establish a Scandinavian settlement in Saline County was unsuccessful. Although a townsite named Granville was laid out, the resources of the colony were inadequate and the venture soon ended.¹⁶

Because of a severe drought and famine on the Scandinavian Peninsula, thousands were forced to move to other lands. Various Swedish societies were formed to help bring refugees to America and settle them in Minnesota and Kansas. In 1863 the Swedish Agricultural Company was formed in Chicago to bring emigrants to this country and establish colonies on the Great Plains. A central factor in the Swedish immigration to Kansas was the desire to settle in large groups so that the religious and cultural identity of the people could be retained.

In the fall of 1863, a company was formed in Galesburg, Illinois, to form settlements in Kansas. This group purchased property in the Smoky

¹⁵Emory K. Lindquist, "The Scandinavian Element in Kansas". Kansas, The First Century, Vol. I, Bright, ed., Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, 1956, p. 308.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 309.

Valley adjoining the holdings of the Chicago company. In 1868, the town of Lindsborg was established, and the Chicago company formed the town of New Scandinavia (renamed Scandia in 1876) in Republic County during the same year. Due to the initiative of the Chicago and Galesburg organizations, the distinctive Swedish quality of life in the Smoky Valley became well established. With Lindsborg as the center, the most noteworthy contribution of the Swedes to Kansas has occurred in the Smoky Valley region. The basic reason for the unique contribution of Lindsborg is the pattern of settlement in the adjoining area. Included are such communities as Smolan and Falun, distinctive Swedish place names, and Salemsborg, New Cottland, Assaria, Freemount, Marquette, Salina, and McPherson.¹⁷ These settlements joined with Lindsborg to provide focal points for Swedish culture.

The Danish immigration to Kansas did not reach the proportions that the Swedish obtained, nevertheless their contribution is significant. In 1869, a colony of five Danes settled in Marshall County, and other groups settled in Cloud and Osage County. These belonged to a Lutheran faction known as the Grundtvigians. They established settlements at Lyndon and Denmark.

Two additional, but unsuccessful, colonization projects were made by the Danes in Kansas. The first was established by a group of socialists near Hays. Eighteen colonists tried an experiment in communal living, but the enterprise lasted only six weeks.¹⁸ The climate and drought were factors which soon discouraged the settlers. In 1888 an attempt was made to establish

¹⁷Alfred Pergin, "The Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 11, Topeka, 1910, p. 19.

¹⁸William F. Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957, p: 175.

a Danish colony in Logan County. There was an early response of enthusiasm, but drought and hot winds killed this venture in its infancy also.¹⁹

The Danish and Swedish elements remained isolated from each other as well as from their fellow countrymen in Kansas. This has been the predominant factor in the preservation of their patterns of culture which exist to this day.

There were Norwegians who settled in Kansas in Cloud, Clay, Jewell, Brown, Labette, Chautauqua, Greenwood and Republic Counties.²⁰ They are difficult to distinguish primarily because the contemporary writers usually referred to them as Swedes.

In a few instances English colonies were established in Kansas. Only one obtained permanent status and adjusted to the mode of the prairie life. This group colonized in Clay County at Wakefield. It was composed of middle-class farmers from England and Scotland who came to America to grow up with the country.

An interesting venture was started in Harper County in a town called Runnymede. Ned Turnley, an Englishman who had settled in Kansas, proposed a scheme whereby English lords could get their sons away from the wild environment of evil companions and liquor in England, and shelter them in Kansas while growing up to be fine country gentlemen. Turnley painted a glowing picture to both father and son; however, each was different in its viewpoint.

¹⁹Thomas P. Christensen, "The Danish Settlements in Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 17, Topeka, 1926, 1928, p. 175.

²⁰R. J. King, The Identification of Foreign Immigrant Groups in Kansas. Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Kansas State College, 1948, p. 25.

To the sons he presented the vast spaces of the West with its adventure—the paradise of the hunter with his hounds. To the fathers he presented the vast spaces of the West—away from the influences of evil. Turnley secured one hundred young men and, on a locality fifty miles southwest of Wichita, founded the town of Runnymede.²¹

A large hotel was built for the young men's accommodation and the whole experience became a holiday. They had a gay time with their hounds, horses, liquor, and cards, but farming was strictly incidental. The venture lasted until 1892 when the parents, growing weary of the dissolute life being led by their offspring cut off their funds. Most of the young men returned to England and the colony died out.²²

In 1868, Ernest Valetton de Boissiere, who believed in Fourierism,²³ bought 4,000 acres near Ottawa and hoped to set up an ideal community modeled along those lines. The planned cooperative community was to produce cheese, silk, and wine. The colony eventually known as Silkville, and although the silk prompted favorable comment, the venture did not thrive and was abandoned in 1888.²⁴

Large colonies of Bohemians also came to Kansas. In 1861, to avoid military service, Jan Pecenka came to America and settled near Marysville in

²¹T. A. McNeal, When Kansas Was Young. McMillan and Company, New York, 1922, p. 57.

²²Ibid.

²³Note: The cooperative socialistic system of F. M. C. Fourier, a Frenchman, who recommended the reorganization of society into small communities living in common.

²⁴Zornow, op. cit., p. 108.

Marshall County. Soon other parties arrived. In 1874, Francis J. Swehla came to Kansas with a party and settled near Wilson. Swehla was intensely interested in the plight of his people, both abroad and in America. He wrote many letters praising Central Kansas as an ideal home, and in 1875 a colony arrived from Michigan. Soon others came from New York and Wisconsin. Near Wilson the available land was soon exhausted, and Swehla turned his attention to the area south of the Smoky Hill. A Chicago colony reached Wilson in September, 1876 and Swehla led it south of the river. In 1878, about 200 Bohemians arrived from Pennsylvania. The towns of Cuba, Menden, Marka, and Agenda were largely Bohemian settlements.²⁵ Another colony of Bohemians settled near Florence in Marion County in 1880, and during the eighties other colonies settled in Sumner and Rawlins. Within a short time a band of Bohemian settlements spanned Ellsworth, Barton, Russell, Lincoln, Mitchell and Osborne Counties.²⁶

"Of all the foreign groups in Kansas, none were more numerous or influential than the Germans; they were found in every county and nearly every township of the state".²⁷ The Germans referred to in this group are not to be associated with the German-Russians who came to this country by way of Russia. In contrast, most of the Germans who settled in Kansas came from other states, having spent two or three generations in the United States before coming into Kansas.²⁸

²⁵F. J. Swehla, "Bohemians in Central Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1913-1914, pp. 469-512.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Zernov, op. cit., p. 180.

²⁸J. C. Ruppenthal, "The German Element in Central Kansas". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, Topeka, 1913-1914, p. 514.

One of the first localities to which Germans were attracted was known as the Lyon Creek Settlement.²⁹ The first German party located there at the mouth of Lyon Creek where it emptied into the Smoky Hill River at Fort Riley. The settlement grew until by 1877 there was little unclaimed land in the Lyon Creek area.³⁰

In 1876 there were Germans at Peabody in Marion County, and others in Lyon County. Humboldt in Allen and Westphalia in Anderson County also had Germans among their inhabitants. In 1878 a colony came from Brooklyn, New York and settled in Ness County. The German Emigrant Aid Society tried to promote settlement in Edwards County.³¹ Large numbers of Germans were located at Natrona in Pratt County, Dodge City, Stuttgart in Phillips County, and Atwood in Rawlins County. Colonies came from Ohio and Kentucky to settle in Kansas. Of the Germans who came directly to Kansas from Germany, the largest number arrived from Hanover to escape Bismarck.³² A basic characteristic of the German migration was that they did not come in large colonies, but individually and in small groups.³³ They did not continue the customs of Europe but adapted themselves to the new environment of the prairie and lived within its scope. This was due primarily to the fact that they had lived in this country for one or two generations before coming to Kansas.

²⁹Clara M. Shields, "The Lyon Creek Settlement". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 14, Topeka, 1918, p. 146.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Zornow, op. cit., p. 181.

³²Ruppenthall, op. cit., p. 527.

³³Ibid., p. 516.

Other ethnic groups, however, who had resided in this country for like periods still carried with them the ways of the Old World when they settled in Kansas.

In the seventies and early eighties, Kansas was the scene of another interesting migration. This was a movement of Negroes from the South to the frontier and was known as "The Exodus". The leader of this movement was Benjamin Singleton, a mulatto who had escaped from bondage to Canada. He returned to Tennessee after the end of the Civil War and organized the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association in 1869. He tried to encourage his people to buy land, but the plan failed because of white opposition. Singleton came to Kansas in 1871. Impressed with the land, he returned to Tennessee and in 1873 he led three hundred Negroes to Cherokee County near Baxter Springs.³⁴ This was known as the Singleton Colony.

Singleton associated himself with Columbus Johnson, who became the agent in Topeka to receive the Negro emigrants. Singleton was then free to devote himself exclusively to the task of leading new bands to Kansas.

The settlement in Cherokee County flourished and this encouraged others. In 1877 a colony came from Lexington, Kentucky and located in Graham County on the Solomon River. They named their settlement Nicodemus after a noted slave who is said to have come to America on the second slave ship.³⁵ This community was for those who wished to continue rural pursuits.

Another group from Kentucky went to Hodgeman County and founded Morton City. In May, 1878, Singleton's second colony located in Morris County at Dunlap.

³⁴Zornow, op. cit., p. 186.

³⁵Dick, op. cit., p. 197.

From 15,000 to 20,000 Negroes settled in Kansas during 1879 and 1880. Of these, thirty per cent had come from Mississippi, twenty per cent from Texas, fifteen per cent from Tennessee and smaller numbers from other states.³⁶

The Freedman's Relief Association was organized to care for the many Negroes pouring into the state. In 1880 the Association helped establish a colony in Chautauqua County, and another colony was established in Coffey County by Negroes from Texas. Negro communities such as Tennessee Town, Mudtown, Jordan Town, Mississippi Town and Rattlebone Hollow grew up in the environs of Topeka and Kansas City.

One of the strangest and most interesting colonies in Kansas was founded by the Vegetarian Settlement Company. The vast open spaces of the frontier, far from any outpost of civilization, was a fertile field for experiment in social reform. The vacant lands of the prairie gave new hope to those who wished to found new societies. The frontier served as a convenient laboratory to put social theories into actual practice.

Henry S. Clubb was a leader in the vegetarian movement in this country. He favored the colonization of vegetarians away from the contamination of flesh, alcohol, and social vices.

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was projected by Clubb in 1855 to establish a permanent home for vegetarians. It was hoped to bring together vegetarians of common interests and aims; otherwise they, "solitary and alone in their vegetarian practice, might sink into flesh eating habits".³⁷

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Russel Hickman, "The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2, Topeka, 1933, p. 377.

The first meeting of the company was held in New York on May 16, 1855, and Dr. John McLauren was sent to Kansas to select a favorable location for the colony. He appeared before the company in January 1856, and advocated an octagon form of settlement near Fort Scott on the Neosho River.

The Vegetarian Kansas Emigration Company was the first to adopt the octagon plan of settlement, a scheme also formulated by Clubb. Membership in the company was limited to vegetarians, and as a result their settlements would be of a restricted nature.

Clubb and his colleagues decided to organize a second company as a complement to the vegetarian organization, to be known as the Octagon Settlement Company. This company was to avoid the vegetarian limitations, but otherwise was to greatly resemble its sister company. The constitution of the company declared the following objects:

1. To form a union of persons of strict temperance principles, who in the admission of members, shall have a guaranty that they will be associated with good society, and that their children will be educated under the most favorable circumstances, and trained under good example.

2. To commence a settlement in Kansas Territory, for the pursuit of agriculture and such mechanic arts as may be advantageously introduced.

3. To promote the enactment of good and righteous laws in the territory, to uphold freedom, and to oppose slavery and oppression in every form.³⁸

The octagon plan of settlement, adopted by both the Vegetarian and Octagon Companies, was a unique feature of the projects. Each octagon-shaped settlement was to be of four square miles, or 2,560 acres. Upon this square a full-sized octagon was to be imposed, whose eight segments were each to be

³⁸Ibid., p. 381.

divided into two farms of 102 acres each. Each of the sixteen farms would front on a central octagon of 208 acres, which was to be used for a common pasture, or park, and to be held by the trustees for the equal benefit of the settlers. A communal life would be attained by placing each farm facing the central octagon, at whose central point an octagon public building would be constructed to serve as store, meeting house, school, and church. Of the four miles originally taken up, the four corners remaining outside the octagon settlement would be used for woodland or grassland. It was planned to make four of these octagon villages into a "city" of sixteen square miles, with a square of 584 acres in the center. This center was to be used as an agricultural college and model farm.³⁹

The benefits to be derived from the octagon form of settlement were set forth in literature of the project. They were as follows:

1. Every settler would live in a village, and at the same time be in the best possible situation on his farm between pasture land in front, and available land in the rear of his dwelling.
2. Education advantages could be secured to children, the schoolhouse in the center, being within a quarter of a mile of all the farm houses. The situation of the schoolhouse is peculiarly healthy, with plenty of space for playground and pure air around the building.
3. Every settler would enjoy the mutual air and protection of the other settlers, affording the best opportunity for cooperation in store, implements, teams machinery and sales.
4. The intellectual advantages to settlers are worthy of consideration as by assembling together frequently in the central building for the discussion of agricultural, physiological, mechanical, and other sciences, politics, theology, and morals, the greatest amount of intelligence will be kept active, and the dullness and monotony, often incident to country life, avoided.

³⁹Ibid., p. 382.

5. The social habits of improvement occasioned by such proximity, must be evident. In isolation men become indifferent to the refinements of civilization, and sometimes sink into barbarism; but living in proximity in this way, emulation to excell in the arts of domestic and social life, and in the elevation influences of mental and moral cultivation.

6. The pecuniary advantages of this plan arise from the fact that the formation of a village always increases the value of the land all around. Now, these first sixteen settlers, if they erected their houses in various points of the territory, or even in various parts of these four sections of land, without any regard to plan, could only raise the value to that of farm land, but by settling in this form, the idea of a village or town is immediately suggested. Land which can be obtained at \$125 per acre, as soon as settled on this plan, becomes eligible for a town site, and those of the settlers who choose, may dispose of portions of their land for building purposes. Five dollars per acre could be obtained for the very first commencement of such a village, and it would be cheap at that price.

7. The plan contemplated by the company embraces an area of four of these octagon villages, forming a city of sixteen square miles, with a square in the center of 584 acres, to be appropriated to an agricultural college and model farm, to be cultivated by the students, who will pay for their education by their labor. Large plans of the city from actual surveys, will be published in the ensuing season 1856, and can be had on application to the agents, or offices of the company.⁴⁰

In the hope that the octagon village would become the center of a city, a detailed plan was worked out to subdivide the farms into lots. Each farm was to be divided into eight squares, or twenty lots, varying in size from the center. Each purchaser of a share in the company would pay a dollar entrance fee, and an initial installment of ten cents upon the five dollar share, and could take not less than twenty nor more than 240 shares. He was entitled to as many city lots as he took shares. The company would pay \$1.25 an acre to the government for its land and all that it received above this

⁴⁰The Octagon Settlement Company Kansas: Containing Full Information for Inquirers. Fowler and Wells, New York, 1855. (A pamphlet in the collection of the State Historical Society at Topeka.)

would be used for provisions, construction of streets, public schools, mills, and stores. Profits from the mills would be divided among the shareholders. The company would also obtain implements and teams for each shareholder, and issue script for the use of its settlers.⁴¹

A definite plan of emigration was worked out, the octagon plan of settlement necessitating the arrival of settlers in groups of sixteen, or multiples thereof. Each group was to have a leader and a definite time and place of departure, and a membership properly distributed among the various professions.⁴²

On the first of May, 1856, Clubb reported at length upon the progress of the colony. The site selected was on the western bank of the Neosho River, west of Fort Scott, and six miles south of the present site of Humboldt. A building was being erected as a store and company headquarters, eight avenues were being laid out, according to the octagon plan, and the eight octagons were being surveyed. After the town of "Neosho City" was laid out, it enjoyed a transitory boom. Lots bought early in May for \$40 were sold a few days later up to \$197.50.⁴³ Emigrants were then arriving from all directions; the majority came between April and June.

The project so brilliantly begun ended, however, in complete failure. By the spring of 1857 hardly a trace of the settlement remained. Many factors contributed to its death, but the primary reasons for collapse were the mismanagement of funds by the company and the failure to provide services promised.⁴⁴

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Hickman, op. cit., p. 383.

⁴³Ibid., 384.

⁴⁴Ibid.

The membership numbered many from the East who were not prepared for life on the frontier and could not live under the hardships imposed. Family after family left for their old homes and soon not a trace of the colony remained. Today the only permanent reminder of the vegetarian colony is the name Vegetarian given to the creek which flowed past their town into the Neesho River.

Table 1. Migration of foreign groups in number of persons to Kansas for the years 1860 to 1900.¹

	: 1860	: 1870	: 1880	: 1890	: 1900
Norwegians	223	588	1,358	1,786	1,477
Danes	70	503	1,838	3,136	2,914
Swedes	122	4,954	11,207	17,096	15,144
Bohemians	---	105	2,468	3,022	3,039
Scots	377	1,598	3,788	5,546	4,219
English	1,408	6,228	14,183	18,086	13,283
Welsh	163	1,088	2,088	2,488	2,005
Irish (includes Northern Ireland)	3,888	11,009	14,993	15,870	11,516
French	507	1,274	1,821	2,236	2,012
Germans	4,318	12,775	28,034	46,423	39,501
Russians	13	56	8,032	9,801	11,019

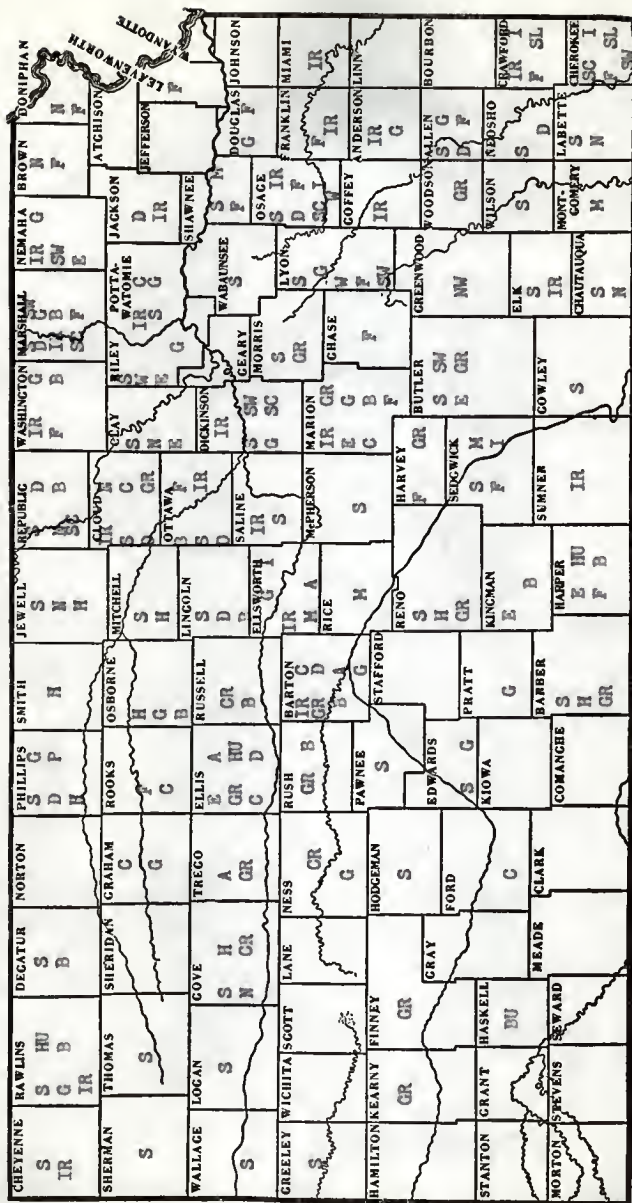
¹Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State, Zornow, p. 182.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII

Map showing location by county of foreign groups in Kansas.

Austrian	A	German	G	Norwegian	N
Bohemian	B	German-Russian	GR	Polish	P
Bulgarian	BU	Hollander	H	Swedish	S
Canadian	C	Hungarian	HU	Scotch	SC
Danish	D	Irish	IR	Swiss	SW
English	E	Italian	I	Welsh	W
French	F	Mexican	M	Yugoslavian	SL

PLATE XXIII



CHAPTER VI

THE COWTOWN ERA

With the extension of railroads into Kansas and the development of the Texas cattle trade after the close of the Civil War, a unique American phenomenon was created--the cow town.

Prior to 1865 there had been limited cattle drives from Texas into Kansas. In 1855 Missouri had passed legislation prohibiting the entry of cattle afflicted with Texas fever. The advent of the fever into Kansas caused the adoption of a similar law by the Kansas legislature in 1859. In 1861 the state legislature passed another act making it illegal to drive cattle into any part of Kansas between April 1 and November 1. The Civil War made the law difficult to enforce and between 1862 and 1865 some herds were brought into the state.

In 1865 the legislature passed legislation prohibiting anyone except immigrants from driving cattle into Kansas from Texas and Indian Territory. In 1866 the 1865 statute was repealed as were certain sections of the 1861 law. A new addition provided that no cattle could be driven into the state between March 1 and December 1 except into that part of Southwestern Kansas which lay west of the 6th principal meridian and south of township 18--roughly the region south and west of present McPherson. This exempted area was to be the salvation of the Texas cattlemen and an area into which poured millions of dollars in trade for nearly twenty years. Apart from the economical impact, a new way of life was to develop which had never been witnessed on earth before, and which was to become part of the heritage of our nation.

The Civil War had ruined the Texas cattle business temporarily, but at the same time it created a meat shortage in the North. Cattle which would

bring from one to five dollars in Texas would bring five to ten dollars per hundred weight in the North. It did not take the Texas cattlemen long to organize and by 1866 the herds were ready to go.

The first herds were driven north to Sedalia, Missouri by way of Baxter Springs. But the hostile attitude of the Missouri farmers and the rough terrain of the Ozark Mountains through which they must pass made Sedalia an impractical terminal for the Texas cattle trade.

In 1867 Joseph G. McCoy, an Illinois farmer and stockman, was searching for a suitable depot in Kansas to which Texas cattle could be easily driven. He visited Junction City, which seemed to be an acceptable depot, but the opposition of local businessmen forced him to turn elsewhere. McCoy returned to St. Louis, but he failed to interest either the Kansas Pacific or the Missouri Pacific in his ideas. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad finally quoted acceptable rates between Chicago and the Missouri River. According to one source, this is believed to be the reason why Chicago, rather than St. Louis, became the stockyard and slaughtering center for the cattle industry.¹

McCoy returned to Kansas and settled upon Abilene as his choice for the depot. The land nearby was unsettled and was well supplied with grass and water. In choosing this site, McCoy violated the 1866 statute for the demarcation line ran about sixty miles west of Abilene. However, since the country was so sparsely settled, nobody objected.

Abilene started as a station on the Overland Stage lines in 1858. In

¹Carl F. Krsenzel, The Great Plains in Transition. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955.

1860 the counties of Kansas foresaw the coming statehood for the territory and organization fever swept throughout the settled area. C. H. Thompson laid out a townsite on his land east of Mad Creek and hastily constructed some makeshift log houses to give it some semblance of a town. The name of the town is reported to have been suggested by a neighbor's wife who found reference in the third chapter of Luke which spoke of the "Tetrarch of Abilene". Since Abilene means "city of the plains", it was decided the name would be appropriate, and it was so named.² In 1861 it became the seat of Dickinson County.

Until the coming of the railroad in 1867, the development of Abilene followed the routine pattern of other western frontier towns during the Civil War period.

The scattered arrangement and varied architecture of the log houses reflected the individuality of the builders. There were no streets, and the spaces between the houses were grown up with prairie grass. The frontier stores were cluttered and dirty, with cuspidors which never seemed quite large enough for the expectorator who lacked pride in his accomplishment. To the feminine customers with their voluminous sweeping garments, this condition created a problem in sanitation.³

Shortly after arriving in Abilene, McCoy wrote:

Abilene in 1867 was a very small, dead place, consisting of about one dozen log huts, low small, rude affairs, four-fifths of which are covered with dirt for roofing; indeed, but one shingle roof could be seen in the whole city. The business of the burg was conducted in two small rooms, mere log huts, and of course, the inevitable saloon, also in a log hut, was to be found.⁴

²George L. Cushman, "Abilene, First of the Kansas Cow Towns". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 9, Topeka, 1940, p. 240.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

McCoy bought a location east of the original townsite of Abilene for the location of his Drover's Cottage and the Great Western Stockyards. It was necessary to induce the Kansas Pacific to construct a spur large enough to accommodate one hundred cars. Chutes and pens were also needed, and while this work was in progress, McCoy carefully advertised his new project. He visited several of the Texas cattle barons and sent emissaries to others to sell them on his market at Abilene. The cattlemen were enthusiastic about the new market but objected to traveling hundreds of miles across trackless prairies. McCoy promised to plow a furrow which the cattlemen could follow from the junction of the Little Arkansas and the Big Arkansas to Abilene. With this assurance of guidance, the cattlemen soon accepted the proposal.

Abilene changed rapidly after it became the shipping point for the Texas cattle. Business arose, frame buildings were erected, and places of amusement were opened. The city jail was the first stone structure to be constructed in the city. At one time during its construction a band of cowboys rode in from their camps and demolished it. It was rebuilt under guard.

During the first two years of Abilene's new history, there was no serious effort to curb violence. Very seldom did a third party interfere in a quarrel. The settlement of difficulties was largely a personal matter to stay away from, and for good reason.

It was evident to the law-abiding citizens that municipal organization was necessary to bring order out of chaos, so in September 1869, Abilene was incorporated as a third class city. As the cattle trade that year was on the wane, very little was done to curb the lawless element. Some fundamental ordinances were passed, but there was little attempt at administration and execution.

In 1870 Abilene obtained its first marshal, Tom Smith. He did such an effective job that his salary was raised from \$150 a month to \$225 after a short period of time. However, he was killed in November of the same year and was replaced by J. B. "Wild Bill" Hickok. By the time he came to Abilene he was already a legendary figure, having made a reputation in the Civil War and at Hays City. "Hickok's favorite attire in Abilene was a Prince Albert coat, checkered pants, and a silk vest, and he spent much of his time in the Alamo Saloon gambling. Due to the fact that his reputation was a tough one, he did not have a great deal of trouble".⁵

The ordinances passed by the Abilene City Council during this time indicate that the prostitutes who followed the cattle trade created a vexatious problem. During the early days of the cattle trade they took up residence at various places in and near the business district. At one time some of these houses were located just across from the schoolhouse. Because of public opinion, they gradually migrated to a district north of town. In the later years, they were moved to a section adjoining the townsite on the southeast which later became a part of the town. Here the colony was under police supervision, and an attempt was made to prevent the violent disorders that had occurred when the demimonde was outside the scope of the law.

Abilene's biggest year was 1871, when nearly 5,000 cowboys and 700,000 head of cattle reached town. However, opposition to the cattle trade was growing among the towns-people and in February, 1872 a petition was circulated among the citizens of Dickinson County requesting the cattlemen to go elsewhere. Eighty per cent of the citizens signed it and it read as follows:

⁵Robert W. Richmond, "Cowtowns and Cattle Trails". Kansas, The First Century, Vol. I, Bright, ed., Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1956, p. 263.

We, the undersigned, members of the Farmers' Protective Association, and officers and citizens of Dickinson County, Kansas, most respectfully request all who have contemplated driving Texas cattle to Abilene the coming season to seek some other point for shipment, as the inhabitants of Dickinson will no longer submit to the evils of the trade.⁶

From that time to the end of the cattle-driving era, the Texas drovers sought other points from which to ship their herds. Abilene was finished as a cow town and went back to the mode of a slow-moving country village. Hickok was dismissed as marshal and the cowtown life went westward seeking new frontiers.

The next town to receive the cattle trade was Ellsworth. Ellsworth was located in the proximity of and received its name from Fort Ellsworth (later Fort Harker). In the spring of 1867, the townsite had been surveyed and the town grew fast. Within a month there were eight stores, two hotels, about fifty buildings, and over one thousand residents. However, the river flooded in June, and the Indians and cholera reduced the population until only about fifty persons remained. During July of 1867, the Kansas Pacific reached Ellsworth. The townsite was relocated to higher land away from the river and to be in better relation with the railroad. With its rebirth, business began to boom. The townspeople were able to trade with the soldiers at the fort as well as with emigrant trains going west. In 1868 it was incorporated as a village, and in 1871 the first mayor and council were elected. It was about that time that the cattle trade began to shift from Abilene.

The cattle traffic brought to Ellsworth hundreds of drovers, buyers, and speculators as well as gamblers, roughs, and courtesans, and all the

⁶Cushman, op. cit., p. 249.

boisterous element which had infested Abilene. All flocked to the new longhorn metropolis. A visitor to Ellsworth in 1872 had this to say of the new market.

This little border town of Ellsworth is not the most moral one in the world. During the cattle season, which I am told, only lasts during the summer and fall, it presents a scene seldom witnessed in any other section. It reminds one of a town in California in its early days when gambling flourished and vice was at a premium. Here you see in the streets men from every state, and I might say from almost every nation--the tall long-haired Texas herder, with his heavy jingling spurs and pairs of six-shooters; the dirty, greasy Mexicans, with unintelligent jargon; the gamblers from all parts of the country, looking for unsuspecting prey; the honest emigrant in search of a homestead in the great free West; the keen stock buyers; the wealthy Texas drovers; dead beats; "cappers"; pickpockets; horse thieves; a cavalry of Texas ponies; and scores of demimonde".⁷

The population of Ellsworth was at this time about one thousand. The main street ran along both sides of the railroad, making an exceedingly wide street, or two streets, called North Main and South Main. The business section was approximately three blocks long. The store fronts, mostly one and two-story frame structures with porches on the front, lined the outer side of the street and faced the railroad. Board sidewalks were generally in use, though in the spring of 1873, a stretch of sidewalk twelve feet wide, made of magnesia limestone, was placed in front of one of the local hotels. It was said that no other town, not even Kansas City, had a sidewalk equal to it.⁸ When the jail was completed in June 1873, the local paper called it the most comfortable place in town, but warned its readers that too many should not crowd into the building at once.

⁷F. B. Streeter, "Ellsworth Cattle Market". Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, Topeka, 1935, p. 392.

⁸Ibid., p. 390.

In 1873, Ellsworth was known as the liveliest town on the plains. In the first seven months of that year thirteen persons were licensed to carry on the business of running saloons and dramshops. All the businesses of vice were doing a land-office business and there was considerable shooting and killing. It was during this period that Wyatt Earp was hired as marshal and established his reputation as one of the great gunfighters of the West.

The people of Ellsworth, unlike those of Abilene, made every effort to direct the cattle trade to their town. Articles appeared in the newspapers setting forth the advantages of the new trail and of Ellsworth as a market place. The drovers were told that Ellsworth had the railway facilities, the largest cattle yards in the state, and the hotel accommodations for the drovers and their crews. The cattlemen were informed that they would be less liable to interruptions and annoyances because the trail ran west of the settled regions.

While Ellsworth was at its height as a cowtown, the Santa Fe succeeded in wedging its lines westward from Topeka, between the cattle country and the Kansas Pacific, to meet the Chisholm Trail at Newton. The extension of the Santa Fe south of the Kansas Pacific's route ended the reign of Ellsworth as the cowtown capitol, and for one brief moment Newton enjoyed the fame and notoriety of its successors.

For one season, the big one of 1871, Newton "was probably the toughest and most dangerous spot in the West".⁹ In a matter of weeks Newton was filled with girls, gamblers, and gunshots. The first building had been moved into the town in March and by August about 200 houses had been built or were in

⁹Richmond, op. cit., p. 265.

the process of construction. There were 27 places in town where liquor was sold and eight gambling halls were in operation. South of the railroad tracks was the part of town set aside for the demimonde and this locality was commonly known as "Hide Park". At all hours of the night music and dancing could be heard. West of town were the stockyards, built under the supervision of the man from Abilene, Joseph C. McCoy.

Although Newton's connection with the cattle business was brief, it was bloody. There was no city government in 1871 and consequently the tougher element was free from the restraint of law enforcement. The citizens had to rely on the township organization for government and one of the township constables and the deputy sheriff served as city policemen. These officers received their pay from a fund raised by the gamblers.¹⁰ Eventually Tom Carson, a nephew of the famous Kit, was hired as marshal and brought peace to the town. In 1872, the construction of the railroad to Wichita spelled the doom of Newton as a cowtown.

Wichita was a growing community before the coming of the railroad and the cattle trade. It had been first settled in 1867 and by 1872 had nearly 2,000 inhabitants. There were sidewalks on both Main and Douglas Streets, a small schoolhouse and plans for new churches underway. Visitors could find accommodations at the Hunger House for two dollars a day, or could live more in style at the new three-story Empire House.

Wichita followed the same pattern as the other cowtowns. In 1873 a sign was posted outside town which read, "Everything goes in Wichita. Leave your

¹⁰William F. Zornow, Kansas, A History of the Jayhawk State. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1957, p.

revolvers at police headquarters, and get a check. Carrying concealed weapons strictly forbidden".¹¹

McCoy again played a significant role in the development of a town, for he was hired to obtain herds for the Wichita market. Pens were built and during the season of 1872, about 4,000 cars were loaded and 80,000 head of cattle shipped. Wichita was incorporated as a third class city in 1871, but it grew so fast because of the cattle trade that the following year it became a second class city.

A tough district known as Delano was located at the west end of the Arkansas River bridge and this was the center of the wild night life. As in other cowtowns, the tough element practically ran the town, defying the police. Finally, when the situation got out of hand, a vigilance committee of over 100 men was organized and armed. Additional policemen were hired about this time, including Wyatt Earp. The tough element was pretty well conquered and the town became more peaceful throughout the remainder of the cowtown period.

By 1875 the area around Wichita was building up so rapidly that the drovers found it more difficult to bring their herds through and once again the cattle trade shifted. Although Wichita received a large number of cattle in 1876, it was virtually cut off from the trail herds by an act of the legislature which set the quarantine line for Texas cattle further west. As a result of the quarantine change and the building up of the city, the drovers again moved westward and left Wichita to gain maturity and establish herself as a leading center of the Southwest.

¹¹Richmond, op. cit., p. 268.

After the cattlemen left Wichita, the trade shifted to a town whose name has become synonymous with the cowtown--Dodge City. For ten years this was the largest cattle market in the world and for fifteen it was the wildest town on the American frontier.¹² It is not without cause that Dodge is known as the "Queen of the Cowtowns".

Dodge City was in a position different from that of the other cattle centers. Whereas the other cowtowns boomed because of the cattle trade, Dodge was an established town before the coming of the herders.

Dodge City had been established with the coming of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1872. The town is located near the old Mexican boundary at the intersection of the Arkansas River and the 100th meridian. Before the coming of the railroad a small outpost existed there consisting of a sod house and two tent saloons which lived off the "bad whiskey sopped up by the soldiers" from nearby Fort Dodge.

A. A. Robinson, chief engineer of the Santa Fe, laid out the town. It was first called Buffalo City, but since there was already a Buffalo Station on the Kansas Pacific line and another of Buffalo in Wilson County, the postmaster general refused to accept the designated name. It was then renamed Dodge City in honor of Fort Dodge, which was five miles away.

The railroad gangs turned Dodge from a "hole-in-the-ground oasis" into a big, bawdy, brawling camp. Thus Dodge had been booming for three years before the coming of the trail herders, and much of the wickedness common to the cowtown was well established before the cowboys came. Dodge City really had a head start on all the rest.

¹²Ibid., p. 272.

Dodge became notorious for vice and violence and was known as the "wickedest little city in America". The town was referred to by many other titles, but perhaps the most euphonious being the "beautiful, bibulous Babylon of the frontier". It was a paradise for gamblers, girls, and gunmen.

Dodge was a busy place. Its hotels, saloons, and other business establishments were filled with customers at all hours of the day, all days of the week. Front Street, running parallel to the Santa Fe tracks was the chief thoroughfare. To the north lay the respectable part of town and to the south were the more sinful institutions.

Dodge City gave the West one popular term—Boot Hill, and the world another. Boot Hill was what the cowboys called the cemetery because it was said that men died with their boots on. The other term—red light district, was derived from a "two-story pleasure dome that had a red glass pane in its front door as a beacon in the night for the lusty cowboys off the lonesome trail".¹³ The editor of the Hays City Sentinel took note of this sort of thing after inspecting Dodge. "No restriction is placed on licentiousness" he wrote. "The town is full of prostitutes and brothels". An early settler put it more vividly. "All they raise around Dodge", he said, "is cattle and hell".¹⁴ Someone else observed that every man in Dodge was a "walking howitzer".

No town in the West can claim a list of peace officers so impressive as Dodge City's. At one time or another almost every famous western gunman helped enforce the law either in Dodge City or in Ford County. This array

¹³James D. Moran and Paul Sann, Pictorial History of the Wild West. Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1954, p. 105.

¹⁴Richmond, op. cit., p. 275.

included Ed and Bat Masterson, Dave Mather, Bill Tilghman, Pat Sughrue, Wyatt Earp, Charles Bassett, Jack Allen, Tom Nixon, and Luke Short.¹⁵

Dodge City continued to reign as "Queen" of the cowtowns for as long as the cattle drives existed, but the trails, in time, began to fade. There were several factors for the elimination of the cattle drives. The steadily advancing line of homesteads and farms in Kansas brought more and more settlers into contact with the Texas cattle and the cowboys whom they disliked, and the farmers' fences became insurmountable barriers to the drivers. Also, the railroads, which had created the shipping points for the drovers originally, helped to destroy the trails for they brought settlers west to farm the land obtained through the huge government land grants. In addition, the railroads were building into areas closer to the Texas ranges which eliminated the necessity of driving long distances and the cattlemen did not have to leave their home state in order to get their cattle to market.¹⁶

Kansas law had a great deal to do with the closing of the trails. The quarantine laws which had begun in the 1850s and continued through the '60s and '70s, culminated in Acts of 1884 and 1885. A severe outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease brought about a new law at a special session of the legislature in 1884 and the following year a law was passed which completely prohibited the entrance of Texas and Indian Territory cattle between the first of March and the first of December. The establishment of these prohibitory dates spelled death for the trails since cattle could not be driven during the short winter period left open.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., p. 273.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 277.

¹⁷Ibid.

With the trails went the wild and lusty life of the towns who catered to their trade. With their past behind, respectability returned and they changed to the peaceful mode of agricultural centers. The cattle drives were at an end but their effects lived on. The trails and the men who rode them helped open the high plains and the northwest to the cattle industry and to settlement. The huge packing industries of Kansas City and Chicago were advanced by the driving of beef cattle to northern markets and as a result beef became an important item on the American table—something it had not been before the Civil War.¹⁸

The trail from Texas to Kansas was not a mere cow trail; it was a step in the course of an empire. It played a part in the unfolding process which developed the Great Plains and made of the Mississippi Valley the bread-basket of the world. The long drive became majestic, not only because of its physical proportions, but also on account of its social and political effect.¹⁹

¹⁸Richmond, op. cit., p. 278.

¹⁹Everett Dick, "The Long Drive". Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 17, Topeka, 1926-1928, p. 27.

CHAPTER VII
CURRENT TRENDS
IN KANSAS COMMUNITIES

Kansas in 1961 is a young state--practically virgin territory as history goes. Yet drastic changes of a most basic nature have been and are taking place. From the unbroken prairie, her people have developed farms, rich grazing lands, and thriving towns and cities. The Santa Fe and Oregon Trails, the military roads, the Chieholm and other cattle trails, have given way to paved highways and turnpikes. From the thousands of towns planned on paper by land hucksters with gleams of Quivera's gold in their eyes, 617 now remain as permanent incorporated places. The depressinn of 1930, the dust bowl, and two world wars have been experienced and survived--but not without effect. The face of Kansas today is an ever-changing picture resulting from advancing technology and a shifting economy within the state.

Yet many natives, smug in the self-content of ignorance, are content nothing changes. The truth is that the only constant is change. A state--or a community--cannot stand still. It either progresses or it degenerates. As much as the local Chambers of Commerce like to brag of their city's "stable" population, a static existence is, in reality, one of decline. It is a situation in which a city's net natural increase (births over deaths) has departed--leaving behind the old core to dream of better days. In these visions of fantasy, the path being followed is clouded by misconceptions of what is really progress. Because Kansas has shown population increases every year of its existence, except for the depression decade of 1930 to 1940, it might be erroneously concluded that a healthy, progressive, economic state exists.

Kansas, while showing slight population increases since the mass migration stopped in 1900, has been robbed of most of its natural birth-over-death

increase and, as a result, has been growing at a slower rate than the nation as a whole. If since 1900 Kansas had recorded this normal birth-over-death increase, assuming such growth occurred at the same rate as the nation as a whole, by 1960 the population would have reached 3,477,869. In reality, the 1960 census of Kansas showed 2,177,822 people. Theoretically then, from 1900 to 1960, Kansas lost a population of 1,300,947, or 60 per cent of its actual population.

In this exodus from the state, Kansas has lost more than people. She has lost market income, taxes, and her most valuable developing assets—her young people and the educated of the state. U. S. Census statistics show that the largest groups leaving Kansas are the young and those with the most education. This loss of the state's most productive element is a severe blow to the future development of the economy.

The adventurous pioneers who settled Kansas were in their youth. It required a young soul to tame the prairie and to endure the hardships of frontier life. However, the population characteristics of Kansas have been changing, starting with the out-migration which began at the turn of the century. The average age in Kansas, with the old remaining and the young leaving, has advanced until, in 1960, it was significantly older than that of the national average.¹

An old population is not a productive population. Industry does not seek locations in communities of "old folk's homes". Many of the towns in

¹ <u>National Age Average</u>	
Male	28.3 years
Female	30.3 years

<u>Kansas Age Average</u>
30.6 years
31.5 years

Kansas which point with pride to their "stable" population may find that their most thriving industry is the local undertaking parlor. If Kansas is to survive, a more realistic approach to understanding the problems at hand must be instigated.

What is the nature of the population in Kansas and what basic trends are causing it to change? Essentially, the 1960 population of Kansas is unevenly distributed over the state. Approximately 85 per cent of the total is contained in the eastern half of the state, while the remaining 15 per cent live in the western half. There is a decisive movement from farm to city which also tends to motivate the progression from the agricultural west to the more urbanized east.

The factors behind this basic movement from farm to city are complex and cannot be explained by any single statement. There is an inter-relationship of causes, each providing a stimulus which acts and then reacts under its own force. The eastern sector of the state has better water resources, more efficient transportation, and is in closer proximity to the large population centers and their markets. These factors promote even greater population concentration within the area and facilitate the basic flow from farm to city. In turn the economic base of the state reflects these changes and is shifting towards an economy more evenly distributed between agriculture and industry.

From the time of its creation, Kansas was primarily an agricultural state. Its economy, culture, and citizens were attached to the land for their substance. An economy largely free of industrialization lasted until the last quarter century. However, in the last twenty-five years, industry has grown rapidly in relative importance in the state. The major sources of

of income for the people of Kansas, in order of their importance in 1961, are manufacturing payrolls, trade and service payrolls, farm income, construction, and mining payrolls.

This change from a predominantly agricultural state to one in which industry and agriculture are blended in a diversified economy is perhaps the most significant trend in the first century of Kansas history. The culmination of mechanical and scientific progress which released man from the bondage of the soil has consequently created need for readjustments in every phase of Kansas life.

In 1920, 65.2 per cent of the total population of Kansas lived on farms. Since then the farm population has decreased rapidly—61.2 per cent in 1930, 58.1 per cent in 1940, 52.6 per cent in 1950 and, the big jump, 39.0 per cent in 1960. Thus the trend away from farming in Kansas is not only increasing, it is accelerating.

The Rockefeller Report on the U. S. economy claims that nationally, a million people leave the farms each year. Moreover, a minority of the nearly five million farms still in operation produce over 90 per cent of the output of all farms, while the majority, comprising 2.7 million farms, produce only nine per cent. All, but especially these 2.7 million farms, contain potential out-migrants to the city. Therefore, it is essentially a movement from farm to city which characterizes urbanization in Kansas today.

Since 1934 Kansas has lost, in number, over 100,000 farm units. Yet today more total land acreage is in cultivation than ever before. Kansas was settled by homesteaders with 160 acres of land, an injudicious figure based on a quarter section of ground. This was too small an area for effective farming even one hundred years ago and immediately the process to acquire more land began.

Modern farming technology, which has increased work output per man over 1,000 per cent, has also greatly augmented the trend towards large scale farming. In 1960, the average Kansas farm size was over 500 acres and the course of consolidation was continuing, even accelerating. The leading farmers in Kansas today operate over 1,000 acres of land—a figure which could become a state average in the next decade if past trends continue. An initial result of this farm consolidation has been an increase in farm output per acre as land and other resources come into more productive hands.

A factor which could spur farm consolidation in the future is corporation farming. At the present time this is illegal in the State of Kansas. Legislation prohibiting corporate farming was passed before the time of modern farm machinery when work would have been executed by cheap Mexican and Negro labor. It was, therefore, in part for humanitarian reasons that the act was passed. Also the small farmer objected to corporate farming as unfair competition and this was a major factor in forcing its prohibition. Today, with modern machines that require skilled operators, the original reason for the legislature's enactment has ceased to exist and there is no agricultural reason for the law to remain. The last session of the state legislature failed to pass a measure to repeal this antiquated law because of resistance from small farm market communities. But ultimately if it is removed, consolidation will increase at even a greater rate.

Because of farm consolidation and fewer persons occupying the rural regions of the state, the character of small rural communities of 1,000 population or less is undergoing a drastic change. These towns are the most numerous group in the state—437 in number—and are rapidly becoming a thing of the past. In 1900, 17 out of every 100 Kansans lived in towns of 1,000 or under. In 1960, less than 7 out of every 100 lived in towns of this size.

These small towns once served the rural needs but modern highway and rapid transportation have made it possible for the farmer to travel 20, 50, even 100 miles or more to shop in the larger towns and cities which offer a larger selection of merchandise at competitive prices. The small town store, unable to compete with the large department stores and super-markets of the cities, tend to fade and go out of business. As the town declines, it becomes less attractive as a place for business to settle or a place to dwell. With no job opportunities, the young people migrate to the larger population centers upon completing their education and leave the old behind. These small towns are thus becoming communities of old people. An old population does not produce a normal birth rate. The only population increase is due to the small number of elderly farmers who retire and move into "town". And this source of population increase is rapidly declining as the number of farms and farmers decrease. The next decade will probably show an even greater decline in towns of this size.

It is usually believed that cities grow because of the industrial job opportunities they offer. This tends to be true. However, a recent study of the conditions favorable to municipal growth in the United States found that despite the historical connection between urbanization and industrialization, some centers now experiencing rapid growth lack large concentrations of manufacturing activity. Government employment, on the other hand, has become an increasingly important factor in recent community growth. There is evidence to indicate that capital cities, county seats, and college and university towns have a better chance of growing than do others.

Towns which are located near large population centers also have reasonably good expectations of population growth because they have a location

advantage in attracting new economic activities. Industries wish to be near the skilled labor pools and the many services needed for plant operation which are available in the larger population centers. Moreover, the larger manufacturing firms which prefer location in small towns near large population centers want their employees to have access to the transportation, educational, cultural, shopping, recreational, and other advantages of the larger centers.

County seat towns tend to maintain a more stable population and experience some increase due to the factor which government plays in city growth and because they are generally dominant in their trade areas. As more local, state, and federal workers are employed in county seats, more farmers drive to these centrally located towns rather than to their traditional shopping centers. In these county seat towns, farmers can handle their business with government agencies and do their shopping at the same time.

Numerous towns which showed population increases in the 1960 census were actually declining. This is due to the fact that they failed to maintain their net natural increase. The inability of a town to retain its natural increase is a form of decline, contrary to population figures.

For the towns which showed actual numerical decrease in the past decade there were usually not one but a combination of reasons for decline, each peculiar to its own particular situation. However, the predominant factors which caused population decline were: isolation from the larger population centers; not a county seat; isolated and not dominant in their trade area; located poorly with reference to roads, water resources or markets; in areas where the number of farms and farm income was decreasing.

Thus, the three factors which seem to be most important in determining which Kansas towns grow and which decline are:

1. Location of the town in relation to large centers of population.

2. Dominance of position in isolated trade areas.

3. County seat status.

In Kansas there are 147 towns which range in population from 1,000 to 10,000. Eighteen out of every 100 Kansans lived in towns of this size-range in 1960 and while these towns have gained 60 per cent in population since 1900, they have grown at a much slower rate than have the larger cities.

While 105 Kansas small towns from 1,000 to 10,000 gained in population during the last decade, only 34 of these equaled or surpassed the national growth average of 17.6 per cent for the same period. Nineteen towns grew at a rate of 25 per cent or more and seven of these, or 39 per cent, were located within metropolitan areas.

Of the 105 towns in this category which increased in population, 59 were located near major centers of population and 46 were isolated from these centers. Of the 46 which increased but were not located near larger centers of population, 31 were county seats--each one being the dominant community in a trade area. This means that there were only 15 that increased in population that were not located near a large population center or that were not a county seat. Nearly all of these 15 towns were isolated communities which occupied dominant positions in their trade area.

Of the 42 towns in the 1,000 to 10,000 range which lost population from 1950 to 1960, 35 were isolated from larger towns, and were located in consolidating agricultural areas. Of these 35 towns which were isolated from larger centers, 24 were not dominant in their trade area and would be expected to decline. However, 11 were isolated and dominant in their trade area and

might have been expected to increase. These towns failed to increase because they were poorly located on side roads and in consolidating agricultural regions.

The most progressive cities in Kansas in terms of population increase are those over 10,000. Since 1900 they have gained 403 per cent in population and 43 out of every 100 Kansans in 1960 lived in towns and cities of this size.

Within this category there are 25 cities in Kansas which range between 10,000 and 25,000 in population. Only one of these, Pittsburg, lost population in the last decade. Pittsburg is located in a declining coal, zinc, and lead mining area in Southeast Kansas. Even the location of a state college--a dominant growth factor--in the city failed to offset this decline in population.

Fifteen of these 21 cities are county seats and are dominant in their trade area. In addition, four of these cities have state colleges. Three cities--Overland Park, Olathe and Newton--are in or close to large metropolitan regions.

Four cities in Kansas are between 25,000 and 100,000 in population. All increased in population in the 1950-1960 decade. Only one, Prairie Village, is part of a metropolitan area. The other three--Hutchinson, Salina, and Lawrence--are county seats and are the dominant centers in their trade area. Both Lawrence and Salina have institutions of higher learning in addition to varied industry to support their population increase.

Kansas has three cities over 100,000 in population--Wichita, Kansas City, and Topeka. Of these three, only Kansas City lost population in the past decade and this decline is a legal technicality. Kansas City is a segment of the central city for a large metropolitan region. The trend in the United

States during the last ten years has been for the central cities to lose population while the surrounding suburbs have boomed. This is true in Kansas City. The metropolitan area of Johnson and Wyandotte Counties has increased in population at the loss of the central city.

A significant cause of population loss in the central city has been the influx of minority and low educational groups from the southern states. As these groups have taken over sections of the central city, the white population has fled to the surrounding suburbs. Kansas has experienced this situation to a significant degree only in its largest metropolitan areas.

The presence of urban centers, which according to the U. S. Bureau of Census are places of 2,500 population or more, are a major factor in determining county growth in Kansas. Of the 105 Kansas counties, 70 lost population in the 1950-1960 decade. Fifty-three per cent of these declining counties had no urban place. Of the 35 counties which gained population, only 26 per cent had no urban place of 2,500 or over.

Of the 70 counties which lost population during the last decade, two--Jewell and Elk--lost over 20 per cent. Neither of these counties had an urban place.

Thirty-four counties lost from 10 to 19.9 per cent of their population. Twenty-one of these, or 60 per cent, had no urban place. Taking all 34 counties in this category, they had an average urban population of 16.1 per cent. If only the 13 counties which contained one or more urban places are tabulated, the urban population average rises to 42 per cent.

Twenty-two Kansas counties lost from 5 to 9.9 per cent of their population between 1950 and 1960. Ten, or 45 per cent, of these counties, had no urban place, that is, no city of 2,500 or over. The 22 counties in this category

have an average urban population of 22 per cent. If only the 12 counties with urban places are regarded, the average urban population is 40.6 per cent.

Twelve counties lost 4.9 per cent or less of their population in the tabulated period. Four, or 33 per cent, had no urban place. The average urban population for these 12 counties is 38 per cent. However, the average urban population for the eight counties which contained urban places is 57 per cent.

Of the 35 counties which increased in population in the 1950-1960 decade, only 12 increased at a rate equal to or surpassing the nation growth average of 17.6 per cent.

Ten counties increased from 1 to 4.9 per cent. Four of these counties did not have an urban place of 2,500 or over. Taking all ten counties of this classification into consideration, they have an average urban population of 31.8 per cent. If only the six with urban places are averaged, the urban population rises to 52.9 per cent.

Nine counties gained from 5 to 9.9 per cent. Only one of these nine did not have an urban place. An over-all average of urban population for these nine counties is 51.7 per cent. The eight counties with urban places have an average urban population of 59.1 per cent.

Six counties gained from 10 to 19.9 per cent. Two of these did not have an urban place. The average urban population for these six counties as a whole is 43.9 per cent. The percentage for the four counties with urban places is 61.5.

Ten counties gained twenty per cent or more population during 1950-1960. All these counties had one or more urban places. The average urban population for these counties is 67 per cent, the highest rate in Kansas.

Only seven of the 35 counties which gained population during the last decade had no urban place of 2,500 or over. These figures definitely show

that the larger the percentage of urban population in a county, that is, the more powerful the urban magnet, the greater are its chances for continued growth.

As was stated previously, population increase and decline in the various counties may be the result of several factors or of only one activity. The loss in Southeast Kansas is due primarily to the decline of zinc, lead, and coal mining in that region, although changes in agriculture were, of course, also of major importance. Losses in Central and Western Kansas are the result of shifting production techniques in agricultural areas and of farm consolidation.

The population growth of Geary, Dickinson and Saline Counties can be accounted for in significant measure by the expansion of the Fort Riley and Schilling military bases. The growth in Sedgwick County is due to the great aircraft industrial expansion. Gains in the Southwestern section of the state, in such counties as Grant, Seward, Haskell, and Morton, are due largely to the expansion of the Hugoton Gas Field. Active petroleum development in Barton and Ellis Counties caused many people to move into that area. Also, expanding irrigation farming has caused population increases in Ford, Scott, Lane, and other Western counties.

What does the future hold for Kansas and her towns and cities? The trends established will probably continue for many years. As more and more farms are consolidated, the surplus population will move to the larger towns and cities. Eighty per cent of all children now on the farm in Kansas will not be able to operate farms of their own because of declining numbers of farms. As more people from the farm attend college and broaden their educational horizons their services will be demanded in different fields and they will leave the

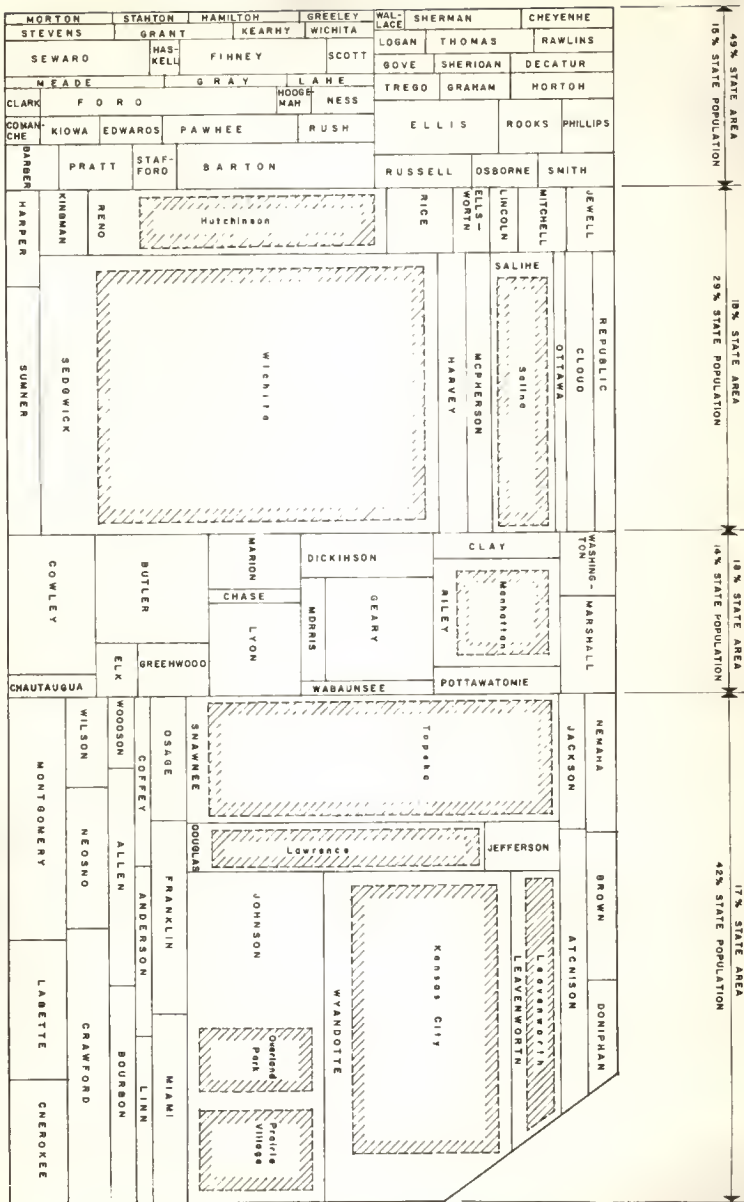
POPULATION REPRESENTATION

FEB 20, 1961 - O.D.E

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, MANHATTAN
CENTER FOR COMMUNITY PLANNING SERVICES

THIS AREA REPRESENTS

THIS AREA REPRESENTS
10,000 POPULATION



rural pattern of life. Most of these people will be drawn into orbit around the larger population centers in Kansas or in other states, depending on job opportunities.

The central cores of the large metropolitan areas will continue to decline as the suburbanization trend gains even greater momentum despite efforts to reverse the trend through Urban Renewal and other devices. Barring federal controls to decentralize industry away from large metropolitan regions for security measures, industry will continue to settle in metropolitan areas and in small towns near these large population centers.

Many county seat towns can be expected to maintain superficial growth in the future because of their twin functions of serving as administrative centers for government and service centers for their trade areas. Very small towns and rural places which are not situated near the larger population centers and are not dominant in their trade area will continue to serve limited functions to the farmer but will probably experience even greater population and economic decline in the foreseeable future. Some will vanish. Others should.

Kansas is not an island unto itself. She reflects the general social, economic, and political climate of the nation as a whole. The conditions stated can exist only if the pattern established continues to endure. However, we should not find excessive satisfaction in the present trends. A comprehensive program of planning for future improvement is needed to remedy the ills already in an advanced stage.

To the meretricious reader the many maps and plans of record may have made Kansas appear to have been a planned state from its inception. There have indeed been several community plans, those for Topeka and Manhattan for

example, which served as an effective guide for healthy community growth for several generations.

Most planning during this early period, sadly, ranging from the politically motivated but too small 160 acre farm to the schemes of the land hucksters with their fancy lithographs of "established" cities, was only pseudo-planning. As a result, Kansas has paid a severe price in readjustment, a payment still being extracted. Today, only one hundred years after birth, Kansas has changed to a predominantly urban-industry state. But only about one per cent of the thousands of incorporated places which were started in the last century still exist under conditions favoring truly healthy future growth.

Such inefficiency should cause us to ponder as we enter the second one hundred years. This poor record is not evidence of the uselessness of planning, but, on the contrary, evidence of the life-or-death necessity of realistic, intelligent comprehensive planning for the future. Fifty years ago, in the days of low cost log cabins or shell structures, a degenerating town was an economic and social tragedy. Today, considering the cost of acceptable living facilities, it is a catastrophe.

For many small towns whose original reason for being was doubtful, the future is non-existent. A few, sparked by progressive local leadership and aided by luck can develop a new economic base to replace that lost from cattle, agriculture and mining. Others may survive as satellites of luckier neighbors in a regional revival.

A second group of cities, including many county seat towns which look contentedly to their "stable" population, may be living in an unrealistic situation, their existence being completely without foundation. The decline,

if it comes, may be with brutal and unexpected suddenness. But it is this group of towns that hold the key to Kansas' future. Many of these communities have the potential for growth—water resources, transportation, nearness to large population centers—if they will capitalize on it before it is too late. A healthy, diversified economic base for the state depends on our saving and promoting as many of these centers as possible. This is a principal reason for the creation of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission. Other hopeful trends include the Regional Planning program at Kansas State University, the State Planning Agency established in 1961, the "701" program, and Urban Renewal. These, and other programs, are leading the way to providing the help that is needed to rejuvenate the towns and cities of Kansas.

Finally, there is a third category of cities, small in number but large in population. These are the "lucky" cities. They have the characteristics for continued growth. Yet, they too, in a sense, must plan for survival—diversification of economic base, solutions for traffic congestion, slum clearance, and problems of suburbia.

As has already been stated, a community cannot stand still. Either it progresses or it degenerates. And to progress, a program of intelligent foresight must be employed. To prepare for the future, Kansas must plan today.

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THE HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT IN KANSAS

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF
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The reasons why cities were originally organized, why they were located where they were, why they have prospered or declined have important bearing on their future. Such past patterns reveal the reasons behind current problems and help indicate new directions for more prosperous growth. Such knowledge can also give planners great help as they encounter parallel or similar situations in other communities.

As a city develops and grows, as new enterprises evolve or old ones decline, its original reason for existence may change or completely disappear. An entirely new purpose for the existence of a city may now exist than that which moved its original settlement. However, by revealing the original conception and character of the early towns in Kansas, a more comprehensive understanding of the problems which exist today emerges.

Most early centers in Kansas were organized by land speculators who platted sites on any tract of land on which they could get their hands. Elaborate lithographs showing developed cities were widely circulated in the East to attract immigrants to these sites. No consideration was given to an economic base on which the town could develop but only to the economics of quick profit which could be gained from the venture. Therefore, it is not surprising that of the nearly 5,000 towns organized (according to one source) in early Kansas, only 617 still remain. And, many which still exist are in serious trouble with doubtful future because of the lack of consideration given to their original development.

The political struggle for the admittance of Kansas to the Union and the principal of popular sovereignty under which she was finally admitted led to the organization of emigrant aid societies in both the North and the South to settle Kansas with settlers of abolitionism or proslavery convictions.

The first towns in Kansas were organized by these groups but more for economic than for political reasons.

Rivers were the early lines of communication and it was on these rivers that the first towns were built. However, the advent of steam transportation redistributed the power advantage gained by these early centers and the railroad was an important factor in establishing towns in Central and Western Kansas.

In return for building the transcontinental roads, the government gave extensive land grants to the railroads. The railroads, anxious to dispose of these government grants, brought in immigrants to develop the economy of the land which in turn would provide more business for the railroads. As the railroads mainly crossed the plains in an east-west direction, this definitely directed the course of settlement and prescribed the settlement pattern.

Indians, the original inhabitants of Kansas, left no centers of urban development but factors such as forts and missions which were introduced into the region because of their presence were major urbanizing agents.

The motive of personal gain rather than economic necessity in establishing early Kansas centers has made itself felt into the present time. To reverse these trends of caducity created by the superficial thinking of yesterday, a program of intelligent foresight is needed to meet the needs of today and a comprehensive plan must be developed to prepare for a more productive tomorrow.